**11.48 hrs.**

## MOTION OF CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS - CONTD.

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : We will now resume further discussion on the Motion of Confidence in the Council of Ministers. Mr. Home Minister.

Dr. Joshi.. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore) : It seems that they do not respect the Chair or anything.

*[Translation]*

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Motion of Confidence in the Council of Ministers is under consideration of the House. Yesterday, the Hon'ble Prime Minister had referred to the facts in this regard and expressed his views clearly before the House about the mandate of 1996. There are two aspects of this mandate. First, the ruling Congress Party, did not get majority and rather slided to second position.

AN HON. MEMBER : That has been decided by the people, please go ahead

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : The second aspect of the mandate was that the Bhartiya Janata Party emerged as the Single largest party. Since none of the parties got absolute majority, the Hon'ble President under such a circumstance, invited the Bhartiya Janata Party to form a Government and the Prime Minister accepted this responsibility. I would like to clarify that when none of the parties gets absolute majority the Hon'ble President explore the possibilities of formation of such a Government which could rule the country on the basis of popular mandate. By virtue of being the single largest party, the Bhartiya Janata Party accepted this responsibility and make honest efforts to evolve a consensus on the basis of programmes and policies. Through the Address of the Hon'ble President to the joint sitting of both Houses, efforts were made to build a consensus on the basis of programmes and present such a programme before the nation which could be implemented unanimously by us. But, I regret that instead of understanding our honesty, faith and value-based politics, efforts are being made to level different allegations.

**11.52 hrs.**

(Shri P.M. Sayee *in the chair*)

One of my friends from West Bengal, Shri Somnath Chatterjee, who is a famous Jurist, had stated yesterday that Shri Vajpayee would be remembered as a Prime Minister holding office for a very short term. But I would like to say that Shri Vajpayee would also be remembered for clean and value based politics and for building a consensus on the basis of programmes. Shri Murasoli Maran had clearly stated that Shri Vajpayee is the only Prime Minister who has tried to evolve a consensus on the basis of programmes and has not resorted to dubious means to get votes on the Motion of Confidence. We have refrained from horse-trading and instead, tried to build a consensus. But today attempts are being made to reverse the mandate of 1996. It is a mockery of mandate. It has been stated that the mandate is in favour of secular forces. Which are the secular forces, and for which secular forces the mandate has been given? Which Party has contested the election on the basis of secularism? Some parties contested elections on the basis of local issues, some on the issue of corruption and some contested among themselves. Yesterday, Shri George Fernandes had clearly read out your manifestoes which revealed your views in regard to secularism. It is clearly mentioned therein what you have stated about the Congress party and what the Congress have stated about you in regard to secularism. Which secular forces have united now? Is it secularism to form a Government with the support of Muslim League? Is it secularism to work with those Parties, which were responsible for division of the country? Is it secularism to work with those people who adopted indifferent attitude in Shah Bano case?. *(Interruptions)* Please listen? Mr. Speaker Sir, I seek your protection.

*[English]*

PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Mavelikara) : Have you any idea about the Muslim League in Kerala ? They are a secular party. Do not brand a secular part as communal.

*[Translation]*

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : I know it. You please listen to me. A discussion should be held on secularism and Minoritism. What is the meaning of Secularism? Does it mean minoritism? Voices have been raised about the interpretation of Hindutva. Hindutva has been clearly defined by the Supreme Court. Hindutva is a way of life. It would be wrong to compare it with any community or religion. I would like to tell all of you that the words 'Hindutva' 'Indianness' and 'Bhartiyata' are the same and there is only a difference of words and language, and nothing else.

Besides the judgement of the Supreme Court, Shri Khan, who was the son of Late Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan. *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA (Kottayam) : I am on a point of order. Rule 356 of Rule of Procedure says:

The Speaker, after having called the attention of the House to conduct of a Member who persists in irrelevance or in tedious repetition of his own arguments, or of the arguments used by other Members in debate, may direct to discontinue his speech.

...*(Interruptions)*. . He is repeating what Mr Vajpayee has referred. Mr. Vajpayee has referred all these points. This is tedious and irrelevant repetition...*(Interruptions)* . So, please direct him to discontinue.

*[Translation]*

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I quote :

*[English]*

'Facts are Facts-The Untold Story of India's Partition' by Shri Wali Khan

*[Translation]*

This is an excerpt from page 150 of the book written by Shri Wali Khan son of Late Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, regarding Shri Sir Sayeed Ahmed Khan

*[English]*

For Instance, in his speech by Sir Sayeed Ahmed Khan at Guardaspur on 27th January 1884 reproduced on page 339 of the collection compiled by Makhtoom Zahda Hasan Mehmood Sir Sayeed Ahmed Khan said

> "We (That is Hindus and Mohammadens) should try to become one heart and soul and act in union"

He proceeds further and marshalling some historical and logical arguments, he says

> "In old historical books and traditions, you would have read and heard and see even now that all the people inhabiting one country are designated by the term 'One Nation The different tribes of Afghanistan are termed as one nation and so the miscellaneous hordes, people in Iran distinguished by the term 'Persian' though abounding in variety of thoughts and religions, are still known as members of one nation Remember that, the words Hindu and Mohammaden are meant for religious distinction, otherwise all who reside in this country in this particular respect belong to the same nation"

In another speech delivered at Lahore in 1884, Sir Sayeed Ahmed Khan extricated the two-nation theory in detail and I quote :

> "These are the different grounds upon which I call both the communities which inhabit India by one word i.e Hindu meaning that they are inhabitants of Hindustan"

He said that if you call yourself Hindu *(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Rosera) Joshi ji, One second. *(Interruptions)*

DR MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Please sit down Hindi or Indian are same words and convey the same meaning but in a different form. Please sit down Now, when I am speaking, you please keep quiet Now, it is my turn, you please listen When you were speaking, I listened to you quietly The Prime Minister had clarified this point yesterday and said that this word reflects the basic spirit of this country Hindutva is the most ennobling experiment of spiritual co-existence It is the greatness of this country The judgement given by the Supreme Court has made it clear that there is no need to say anything further about the Hindutva . *(Interruptions)* Secondly . *(Interruptions)* we should also try to understand secularism and minorityism BJP believes that it would not go for the appeasement of a particular group We would not give room to discrimination and would give justice to all Wherever our party is in power, no such incident has taken place and no complaint has been registered before the Minorities Commission and in fact, I would like to tell you that former President of Minority Commission Shri Mirza Hamidullah Beg who was Justice in Supreme Court had recommended himself that a Human Rights Commission may be constituted in place of Minority Commission Today, the position is that Minority Commission wants to expand itself We would also like to give it an expanded form so that every citizen of India, if there is any infringement in his rights, can come and make his point before the Commission What objection can be there for it? How can this be a question of communalism? Rather it is a question of giving equal status to all citizens and protection of their rights and that is why *(Interruptions)* and that is why a Human Rights Commission should be constituted. We are in favour of its constitution I think, every person, beginning from international sphere to any State Government, would be supporter for protection of human rights Our Government and our Prime Minister has said that we would protect every downtrodden every women and every person belonging to minorities, whether he comes under it by virtue of language, sect or otherwise This proves that we want to protect human rights What objection

**12.00 hrs.**

Would you have for it? You find communalism in this also. *(Interruptions)* In this also you ...*(Interruptions)* You have got only one point programme....*(Interruptions)* Therefore you should see what are you doing. .*(Interruptions)* You say that your secularism has unity. You say that secular forces are one, but what I find is that there are reports coming in newspapers, some say that they should be included in committee and the communist party says that we would not be to work if they are included. If they are included in the committee, they would adopt the policies of Congress only. So and so should not be included in the cabinet whereas certain persons should be included. Someone says that if he is given the charge of Ministry of Finance, then we would not join you...*(Interruptions)* Someone has gone to the extent that if Co-ordination Committee is constituted and Shri Narasimha Rao is included in it and ..*(Interruptions)* This is an opportunity to exercise remote control for Congress...*(Interruptions)* You have had a lot of opportunities. .*(Interruptions)* It is being said that they would run the Congress Government by proxy. We would not join this. I would like to know that have you got your programme chalked out? So many days have passed and every day there is a news that it would be formulated within a week. At times we are told that it would be prepared in the evening and at other time in the morning. What is your programme? What is your programme including your economic programmes and on what points you are having unanimity? *(Interruptions)* Yes, it has been formulated. We do not know. It would be in your home. *(Interruptions)* You don't have unanimity in any of the programme. *(Interruptions)*

**12.02 hrs.**

(Shri Chitta Basu *in the Chair*)

You say that it is question of giving protection to the minorities. There had been four Governments in Uttar Pradesh. From 7.6.80 to 19.2.82 there had been Congress Government. During this period on an average 8 muslims per month were killed in communal riots. *(Interruptions)* Congress is responsible for this. They were in power at that time. *(Interruptions)* Second Government remained there from 25.6.88 to 4.12.89. the average number of muslims killed during this period was 3. Then during the regime of next Government whose Chief Minister is sitting here and which ruled from 5.12.89 to 23.6.91 average number of Muslims killed was 17 per month. *(Interruptions)* I would like to know which arithmatic. *(Interruptions)* then there had been BJP Government from 24.6.91 to 6.12.92 and average of Muslims killed during this was one and that too because there had been a riot...*(Interruptions)* People, here are claiming to be the protector of minorities. I do not want to place the figures of all the State before you, but only Uttar Pradesh.

A reference has been made about downtrodden. This Government is very considerate and sympathetic towards poors and wants to work for them. They are asking support of the party sitting in front of us for the purpose. Now I would give you some figures regarding poors. What have they done to them. ...*(Interruptions)* In 1987-88 percentage of poors in our country was 39 and in 1993-94 also it remained 39 percent. These are official figures. But see the difference, in 1987-88 percentage of rural poors, was 39 as against 40 in urban areas. During 1987-88 the villages were prosperous and town poor. In 1993-94 percentage of rural poors increased and reached to 40 whereas in urban areas it came down to 36% means the villages now are...*(Interruptions)* rural poverty has increased...*(Interruptions)*

Please listen. *(Interruptions)*

Please listen to me. *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN. Please sit down. I am on my legs.

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I was telling that in what pitiable condition the economy of the country is. During the regime of previous Government the rupee was devalued, foreign loan increased millions do not have drinking water and there is serious threat to the security of the country. That is why our Prime Minister has asked for co-operation of all. He has sought co-operation of all the countrymen to protect weaker and the poor of the country. To improve the economy of the country and to maintain peace and order in the country, and also for establishment of policy based system, he has asked co-operation of all. He has started a new beginning in the changed political scenario. *(Interruptions)* First time since independence, a new situation has arisen in Lok Sabha and to solve this problem, he has evolved a new method of working by consensus and mutual co-operation. Yesterday, it was told that we to strengthen the Centre and weaken the states and want to bring uniformity but that is absolutely wrong. Strong centre is one thing and flexible centre is another.

We do not want weak centre, we want flexible Centre, we want cordial relations between the Centre and States. We want to analyse these relations in terms of recommendations of Sarkaria Commission.

I would like to ask the leader of Opposition whether he is in favour of a weak Centre. BJP is supporter of such a system in which Centre and State strenthen each other...*(Interruptions)* Neither should anybody work under somebody's dictatorship nor should anybody be suppressed. The Centre and States both should work together in accordance with the constitutional provisions made to Govern the country, and thus stronger States would make the Centre more strong. And a stronger Centre would lead to more help to States. These relations should be flexible.

*[English]*

We stand for a flexible Centre but not for a weak Centre.

*[Translation]*

A weak Centre would create problems for the country. Previous Government adopted a policy of weak Centre the results of which are evident. What is happening in Kashmir? Country is at the verge of disaster, economy has been weakened. Therefore, I support the motion. I request all of you to adopt the policy of consensus in politics and various programmes so that a new begining can be initiated in the country. I would like to congratulate the Prime Minister that he has boldly initiated a new process in politics. History would always remember it, with this I support this motion.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV (Mainpuri) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to oppose the Motion of Confidence. *(Interruptions)*

Mr. Chairman, Sir, you have witnessed how inconvenient the communal forces feel in our presence. We might not be having any other programme but we do have one and that programme is that when communal forces came to power in Germany through democratic means. *(Interruptions)* Therefore, we might or might not be having any other programme but we do have one Joshi ji and hon. Atal Bihari Vajpayee ji that communalism can not raise its ugly head in India. *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member should be given the opportunity to speak.

*[Translation]*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : This is our first programme and in order to implement it we can suspend our other programmes. We will not, at any cost, allow Hitlerism to flourish in India. *(Interruptions)* You have witnessed the question of morality here. We could never expect hon. Atal ji, who raised the question of morality. *(Interruptions)* He said that he will not resort to any covert means in order to save his Government at the floor of the House. He has taken recourse to such means. Didn't he called a meeting near the Guest House of Haryana the day before yesterday? I am proud that none of the leaders of our constituent parties were lured by your...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SHARAD YADAV (Madhepura) : You can give reply to it when it is your turn.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, Mulayam Singh ji has for the first time become the Member of this House. Whatever he says and in which manner. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MUKHTAR ANTS (Sitapur) : What is he saying...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please listen to your leader.

*[Translation]*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Chairman, Sir, what arguments are being advanced from that side. *(Interruptions)*

I would like to refute the charge and say that I did not even think of Haryana Guest House what to speak about going there.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Sit down please. I am on my legs.

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to tell the hon. Prime Minister that so far as the question of morality is concerned *(Interruptions)* They are aware, Mr. Chairman, Sir, that they have no reply to it and they are behaving like Fascists. *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Prime Minister, may I make an appeal to you? *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Sit down please. I am on my legs. Mr. Prime Minister, I am making an appeal to you. Every Member has got the right to speak. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Chatterjee, I am on my legs. I think every Member has got the right to speak here and you should also request your own Members to see that there is no disturbance in House.

*[Translation]*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I know that the sheer presence of Mulayam Singh Yadav evokes anger but please do not interrupt him. Take your seats please. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Sir, so far as the hon. Presidents' invitation to form the Government was concerned, the Congress party had already forwarded its resolution on 12th of the month and it was reported in the newspapers as well as on TV and a copy thereof stating that the Congress will not support the BJP or its Government was sent to the hon. President on 13th.

*[English]*

PROF. P.J. KURIEN (Mavelikara) : Sir, the maiden speech of a Member is never disturbed. That is the convention followed in the House.

*[Translation]*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Mr. Chairman, Sir, so far as the question of mandate is concerned, the mandate given to 3/4th of the Members present in the House clearly portrays the picture of the Confidence Motion. The people with only 20 percent mandate are deliberately trying to create a situation of confusion and dilemma. What is the hon. Home Minister saying? He says that they will run the Government if they are able to get the Confidence Motion passed and in the event of failure to achieve that end, they will get the sympathy of the people. I would like to say through you, Mr. Chairman, Sir, that no matter howsoever strong might the hands be if they try to weaken the country, they will not be allowed to do so. *(Interruptions)* Hon. Vajpayee ji is aware that 50 years ago India was partitioned into three segments-first India and Pakistan and afterwards Bangaladesh. If the people of Bangladesh or the Pakistan come here likewise our citizens also go to Pakistan or Bangladesh. *(Interruptions)*

Today our effort is to make it a confederation. There is a process of it and there is no need at all for the people like you to deny this fact. I would like to know from Atalji that 50 years back we were one and after it if two brothers faught each other. *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please allow him to speak.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Allow him to speak.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please allow him to speak. He has got the right to speak.

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI MADHUKAR SIRPOTDAR (Mumbai-North West) : Whatever he is saying is not proper. About which process he is talking. *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

Let him go there, in Pakistan to start this Prakriya. *...(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to know from Atalji through you that if two brothers have quarrelled each other...*(Interruptions)* I would like to urge upon Atalji, if we have some differences then would he ask my son to leave his house? Likewise people of Bangladesh and Pakistan are our brothers. We will have cordial relations with these and will start a process. We will create an atmosphere and in that atmosphere a confederation of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh will be formed. Indian subcontinent will be a strong power in the world. Do not you want India to be strong? If India has to become strong then we will have to maintain harmonious relations with Bangladesh and Pakistan...*(Interruptions)* What have you done in 12 days?...*(Interruptions)* When hon. Chandrashekharji, who was among your supporters has asked for your resignation then morality demands that you should resign. Your strength has come down from 194 and we have increased our number from 171 to 192 and from 331 to 362. Then where is the morality? Therefore, it would be better if you resign instead of begging for support in the vote on confidence. There is no need at all for having a discussion.

As far as corruption is concerned, we know that there is the question of Enron before you *...(Interruptions)* Our Government will be formed with the three-fourth majority. It will review the matter. Corrupt practice has been adopted in Enron deed and if it is not a case of corruption then you had no right to take a decision on it. Your Government does not have majority support. Your's is an adhoc arrangement and in this adhoc arrangement when the discussion is going on and you are not havinmg majority support with you a meeting of the Cabinet was called. What was the need? It is clearly a case of corruption... *(Interruptions)* You had levelled charges and had said that the Enron deal will be thrown into the Arabian Sea. You have the dual character. You say something and do something else. *(Interruptions)* Sir, what is written in their election manifesto - equal citizenship. Article 370 and the construction of the Ram Mandir. They have changed their position now and say that the issue of construction of the temple and the issues of Kashi and Mathura are not on their agenda. If it not now then it will never be. Atalji, if you have courage then say that the issues of Mathura, Kashi and the construction of the temple will never be a part of the agenda. Speak so...*(Interruptions)* Howsoever hard you may try but you can not hide your true picture. The Bhartiya Janta Party has dual character and it

can not be relied upon. They did not regard the opinion of the Parliament and the verdict of the Supreme Court. They had made a promise in the apex political fourm, the National Integration Council to safeguard the Mosque but could not do so. The Supreme Court gave the punishment. You might be knowing...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mulayam Singhji, please conclude.

*[Translation]*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : No appeal can be made against the verdict of the Supreme Court ...*(Interruptions)* There can be no better example than this I would like to submit, what have they done in 12 days? The chain of murders has been going on since 21st May. On 21st May, the leader of the Samajwadi Party of Lucknow was murdered. On 21st May, Shri Firasat Ali and on the same day Shri Vijay Sachan, the General Secretary was assaulted and the brother of Rajendra Singh Yadav of Etah was murdered. Sir, on 23rd May, Shri Rajveer Dixit, who was a worker of our party, was murdered by the candidate who contested against me. He is now behing the bars.

*[English]*

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE AND MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN) : It should not go on record.

*[Translation]*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Therefore, I have said that fascism had spread in Germany in this way, which will not be allowed in our country. This much is my submission to you. I would like to urge upon the hon. Home Minister that he is full of praise for George Sahib. My submission regarding George Sahib is that he has changed several parties in his life. It is said that he is a socialist leader but I have seen his many facets. His first facet was seen in 1963 when Dr. Ram Manhor Lohiya had won. He then remarked *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : He has once again come with a changed facet. Then he delivered an excellent speech during the tenure of Shri Morarji Desai. And the speech delivered by him yesterday, was even better then that but now he has changed sides ..*(Interruptions)* Therefore, I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister ..*(Interruptions)** I was saying that he is running the Finance Ministry. The hon. Home Minister is making the file of all the correspondence. Fake charges are being levelled against the leaders and the photostat copies are being made. Does.. *(Interruptions)* a file has been made...*(Interruptions)* Indiraji had said ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : There was a ban that side.. *(Interruptions)* by sitting in the P.M. House and in the Home Ministry ..*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : The time allotted to the hon. Member is over. I request him to conclude the speech.

*[Translation]*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : I would like to submit one more thing that as far as the Article 370 is concerned. Article 370 *(Interruptions)* It is a separate issue. The issue of Kashmir is a different one. When the Muslims of our country were migrating to Pakistan, the people of Kashmir ..*(Interruptions)* want to live in our country *(Interruptions)* Now you are side tracking by resorting to talking. It is better if you quit alongwith them and do not recourse to any other thing. Now power is in our hands. With these words I pay my regards to Bharat Mata and oppose this motion and conclude.

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Some names have been mentioned in this. It should not go on record.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore): Mr. Chairman, how much time have you got for me? Is that five minutes?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Anyway, you are a senior Member. You understand the constraints of the House.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Mr. Chairman, I would. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : You will get an opportunity.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Mr. Chairman, I would request the hon. Members on this side of the House ..*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

At least you keep quiet they will not let you speak but why are you involving yourself in that.

*[English]*

No, no. It is very difficult. When some hon. Members have no respect for the Chair, when they do not allow their own Ministers to speak and when they go on interrupting their own man, it is very difficult.

Sir, in this long ranging discussion which has been going on from yesterday many aspects of the

* Not Recorded

problem which the country is facing have been dealt with by Members on both sides of the House. I wish to only make a very few remarks from a different angle and that angle, I think, should be given more attention because it has been raised by one or two Members here also. Just now, it has been raised by the hon. Home Minister also. That is the ideological angle.

*[Translation]*

This is an ideological battle and nothing else. You have rightly said that it is a battle of ideology.

*[English]*

It is a battle between conflicting ideologies and the ideology which is going to come on top and rule the country and the ideology which should be prevented from coming on top because we consider it to be disastrous for the country. That is the main issue here.

THE MINISTER OF CIVIL AVIATION AND TOURISM (SHRI V DHANANJAY KUMAR) : We have seen your colour during the Emergency. You had joined hands with them.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : You can give me your wise advice later on, outside. I am quite willing to listen to your wisdom, but outside, not here.

Now, Sir, there is one point, which I should mention in passing because somewhere the BJP spokesmen have said - I think, the Prime Minister himself has said, not here but in some public speech - that it is being alleged that there was a conspiracy behind the demolition of the Babri Masjid and he very strongly refuted it. He said that there was no such conspiracy and so on. I am reminded of that day here, in this House, one day after the demolition of the Babri Masjid when there was a big uproar going on in the House. Of course, normal business could not be transacted. The whole House was in turmoil on that day. The hon. Prime Minister - who at that time was not the Prime Minister was here. If I had time, I would have quoted from the proceedings of the House. He very strongly censured the people who were responsible for this demolition. He said, 'They have acted on their own; they were not given any direction or instruction to go and damage the mosque, they have done something unauthorisedly. I do not know who they are. They should be hauled up and they should be punished for it.' This is what he said here. It is on the record of the proceedings of the House. But this Party and its Leader are people with double voices and double faces. After another day or two, some other leaders - I do not wish to name them - started saying in public, 'We are very happy with what has happened. We are very proud of the people who have destroyed this mosque'.

One leader has said, should I name him, who has said this? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : Name him. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I did not name you. Why are you jumping up? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MADHUKAR SARPOTDAR : You are not courageous enough to name him. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I am not naming you. Why are you jumping up? *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : I request the hon. Members to see that veteran leader, Shri Indrajit Gupta, is allowed to speak.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Sir, there are people who went on record, who said something which is completely contradictory to what my friend, Vajpayeeji, has said in the House and who said that our boys who have gone and destroyed this mosque, we are proud of them. We are proud of them and we congratulate them. So, we would like to know which is the real voice. Which is the real voice of this party or parties? Secondly, we have seen one face of Shri Vajpayee in this House. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down.

*[Translation]*

SHRI SHARAD YADAV (Madhepura) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, through you, I would like to tell all the Members of this House that Shri Indrajit Gupta is an hon'ble Member of this House and he knows about everything. I would like to request the leader of the House and all of you... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRABHU DAYAL KATHERIA (Firozabad) : Please listen to what I am saying. You should listen to my views also. *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Prime Minister has also appealed to you. I think the leader of your party has already made an appeal and he has made it clear that every Member has got the right to speak and you have no right to obstruct anybody from expressing his own views. I again appeal to you to see that this Motion is discussed in a peaceful manner and Mr. Indrajit Gupta should be allowed to speak without any interruption.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I would request my friend, Shri Sharad Yadav, to allow the Speaker to conduct the House. Everybody becomes a Speaker here. There are so many Speakers. All are trying to conduct the House. There is an elected Speaker here. Please respect him.

Sir, my friend Shri Vajpayee who is a very very old friend of mine and I think we are on very good terms with each other. We have seen one face of him here is this debate, during this debate. All the media, the Press and everybody have definitely been very much impressed by his sobriety, his calmness, his appeal to everybody, his reasonableness etc. But I regret to say that Shri Vajpayee on occasions also has a different face. This is the trouble. I would like to remind him that during the Assam elections of 1983, elections which could hardly be called elections because there was so much disturbance, voters could not come their votes, the whole atmosphere was surcharged.

There were so much fear of disturbances, riots and ethnic clashes and all that. Mr. Vajpayee was compaigning in Assam. I have got here a book which describes the fact that when he was addressing roadside election meetings in Assam, in that highly surcharged atmosphere, he had said this and I am quoting :

> "Foreigners have come here and the Government does nothing. What if they had come into Punjab instead, people would have chopped them into pieces and thrown them away"

Sir, I submit that in that atmosphere prevailing in Assam at that time, a responsible leader to make statements like this, that they should be chopped into pieces and thrown away, is something which could be nothing but inflammatory. I can tell you that soon after this, that famous or infamous Nellie massacre took place in Assam. I submit that Mr. Vajpayee contributed to creating this atmospher by this type of inflammatory speeches made by him. This is very different to the type of speech that he made here yesterday, which was of course for other purposes, I know. So, what I want to say is this ...*(Interruptions)*

AN HON. MEMBER : What was the Congress Government doing at that time? *(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Congress Government may go to Hell, it does not matter! *(Interruptions)* But where are you going? ... *(Interruptions)* Sir, I am aware that most of the Members of the BJP or all of them... *(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

Please do not make a noise and try to listen to others.. *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

The BJP Members, if I am not wrong - if I am wrong, they will correct me - all of them practically and there may be one or two exceptions, I do not know, did belong at one time or other and got their training also in the RSS. *(Interruptions)*

AN. HON. MEMBER : No. No ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : All right. If it is not, very good, you did not. So, please stand up, if you are not in the RSS ...*(Interruptions)* Please identify yourself... *(Interruptions)* does not matter ...*(Interruptions)*

Sir, the ideological guru of the BJP is the RSS. I do not think, they will deny it. I have book written by late Shri Golwarker who is the head of the RSS. I have no time and so, I will only quote a few lines from this book in which he says

> "The non-Hindu people in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language - I do not know what Hindu language is but anyway - and learn to respect and hold in reverence the Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of glorification of the Hindu race and culture. That is, they must not only give up their attitude of intolerance and ungratefulness towards this land and its age long tradition but must also cultivative the positive attitude of love and devotion instead. In one word, they must cease to be foreigners or may stay in this country only subordinated to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing, reserving no privileges far less any preferential treatment not even citizen's rights." *(Interruption)*

AN HON. MEMBER : What is the wrong in it? There is nothing wrong ...*(Interruption)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : What the hon. Home Minister has said a little earlier does not tally with this; it does not conform with this which is in bold print.

They are the writings of no less a person than Shri Golwalkar who is certainly considered to be a big intellectual guru of the RSS. This is what we are fighting against. We are fighting against this kind of an attitude, outlook and idea that one culture and common perception of this country must be accepted and imposed on everybody. This country will never survive except on the basis of pluralism. Let it be quite clear. India survives on the basis of the pluralism and without pluralism, this country will go to pieces, it will be broken into pieces. I want to know from the Prime Minister, when the replies to the debate, their attitude towards pluralism, pluralism in the composition of this country, pluralism in our society, culture, religion, languages, traditions and history which has, over hundreds of years, brought into being this country, this nation of which we are proud that we have a country like this. I am very glad that the hon- Prime Minister said that this country can never agree to any kind of a theocratic or religious state. We have not become Pakistan. We are not Pakistan or Bangladesh who have

declared that they have got an Islamic state but if some people go about propagating as those in reply to that, we may set up a Hindu Rashtra, it will not be good...*(Interruptions)*... What is Hindu Rashtra? Please explain the meaning of Hindu Rashtra. In this country, not only Hindus live here. Not only Hindus are citizens; millions of people live here who are not Hindus. Do you consider them to be equal citizens or do you want them to be driven out? You must make it clear. You must understand why the whole country is against you and why nobody came forward to support you...*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI B.L. SHARMA PREM (East Delhi) : In 1962, China had attacked India.. *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

According to Lenin, the path of communism lies in the world from Moscow to Peking, New Delhi Paris and other Industrious countries of Europe. That was their route...*(Interruptions)*.. So, in 1962, they distributed literature on the Assam border that liberation forces of China are coming to liberate the labouruers of this country. That is your party ...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Have you got no leaders who can control their people? I want to know this. You have got such a big and strong party; you must have got some leaders who can control their own people...*(Interruption)*

*[Translation]*

We do not make noise . *(Interruptions)*

SHRI GIRDHARI LAL BHARGAVA (Jaipur) : You read the book ..*(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Midnapore) We do not make noise but you make a din on every point

*[English]*

MR CHAIRMAN : Mr. Gupta, please address the Chair...*(Interruptions)**

MR CHAIRMAN : These words are not to be uttered here.. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA . Sir, is it good to speak like this and to keep to your ideas and thoughts? For the benefit of my another old friend, Mr. George Fernandes, I would like to say something. I do not know whether he is present or not

For his benefit I would like to just offer a very vey short and brief quotation from Mahatma Gandhi. We have a lot of quarrel with Mahatma Gandhi. We differ with him on so many things. He differs with us; we differ with him. But there is on matter is respect of which, I think I am not afraid to admit it that we should not have quarrelled with him. We made a mistake if we challenged his idea on that point. Today, I think that we should take a pledge if necessary that we would stick to that teaching of his which I want Shri George Fernandes also to ponder over. What did Gandhiji say?

Mr. Fernandes is not only a socialist but also a special type of socialist, he is an international socialist. Gandhiji said.

> "Socialist friends had not understood the A,B,C of socialism. Why could not the socialists see that there can be no socialism in India so long as they are in the octopus grip of communalism".

I think, he never said a truer word than that. We never took him very seriously. Today, when the country is confronted with a crisis we should recall Gandhiji's words...*(Interruptions)* We are committed to socialist ideals...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN . Please sit down. Please resume your seat... *(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI ANAND MOHAN : Mandal has overshadowed Marxism...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BRAHMANAND MANDAL (MONGHYR) : Guptaji, what place has the incident of Muzaffernagar which had taken place in U.P. during the reign of Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav, got in your socialism?.. *(Interruptions)* would you repeat the same things as Shri Mulayam Singh had done?.. *(Interruptions)* You have surrendered your ideology in the hands of Shri Mulayam Singh and Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN . Mr. Gupta, Please continue.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I do not argue with people who have been expelled from my Party; and who are defectors. I do not argue with defectors. I do not argue with people who go on changing their party five times, ten times. Such people are not worthy of paying any attention to.

So, I want to say-it has already been said by one speaker- if the majority community in this country is suffering from a minority complex, who is responsible for it? Who has created this so called minority complex in the minds of the majority when there are no basics and no foundations whatever for it?

Sir, I remember in Germany, Hitler used to go on talking about the Jews like the Jews are responsible for all the ills of our country, it is the Jews who have ruined our country, it is the Jews against whom we must be vigilant. This was the old war-cry of the Nazi socialism in Germany and it ended up with sending

* Not recorded

millions of Jews to the Gas Chamber and killing them *enmasse*. You go on talking about the minorities; the minorities are responsible for the ills of our country and, I think, it is a very dangerous singal. It may lead to something, we in this country, of course, have not been used to and we are not prepared to tolerate also.

Sir, so these are a few passing thoughts I could speak about many things bit there is no time It will pass the time since the hon. Prime Minister is supposed to begin his reply. In deference to that I am concluding my remarks. I cannot congratulate these friends because they do not show any respect to anybody.

**1255 hrs.**

(Mr. Speaker *in the Chair*,

They have no respect even for the Speaker. I am very sorry for the future of this House if the proceedings will continue in the manner that we have seen today. With that, Sir, I wish to conclude by saying that this Vote of Confidence, which has been moved by the Prime Minister, is not worth the paper it is written on. This Motion must be thrown out lock stock and barrel and I will certainly join with other friends in voting against

MR. SPEAKER Mr. Swell you may speak for three minutes only. We are already behind schedule So I request the participants to be very very brief

**12.56 hrs.**

PROF G.G SWELL (Shillong) After so much of turmoil, after so much of collective display of lung power, I hope I would be able to restore some sanity to this House I have returned to this House after a number of years. I have come here all on my own defeating all national parties with a margin that perhaps proportionately would be one of the highest in the world.

Sir, the Prime Minister, Mr. Vajpayee has been my friend for a number of years and I have so many good friends in BJP But I must say with anguish and not with Jubilation, after a good deal of introspection and after a good deal of cogitation, that I have made this journey from approximating to a party which I now considered to be a hierarchical and monolithic to the democratic forum of leaders where we meet and discuss, that is the United Front Mr Vajpayee has been my friend for a number of years, as I have already said. I thought I know him Today I do not know him The irrational thing that he ever did was to have assumed power I had expected that he would show himself to be a leader of this nation and that as a national leader his Government would project a national image. On the other hand he started donning the Hindutva clothes and he started basing his Government on what we called, the cow-belt This is what I could not understand This is why perhaps he has not only remained where he was - frozen with 194 supporters with him and has not been able to win any more friends - but as a matter of fact alienated many friends The worst thing is, Mr. Vajpayee will be going out of office within a few minutes. He will be a leader lying in history and history will not be repeated

My friends in the BJP, especially Mr. Pramod Mahajan were saying that after this there will be another election in the country We are not afraid of another election I am not afraid of it. I am prepared to face election even tomorrow and I promise that I will beat you with double the margin that I have got now

Having said so, I say it with considerable pain that Mr. Vajpayee has done a great damage to this country He has polarised this county He has devided this county into the cow-belt and non cow-belt This is what is happening in this country I do not understand his dissimulation. I do not understand why Mr Vajpayee has taken to dissimulation The President's Address is a string of inanities, a string of good wishes that he wishes to do He seems to have forgotten all the fundamentals of his party There is only one thing in which he is sincere and that it to have a total ban on cow slaughter I have said that in the North-East - I come from that section as you come - beef is the cheapest source of protein for the majority of the people

**13.00 hrs.**

If you stop people *(Interruptions)* They are ashamed of us and we are ashamed of them *(Interruptions)* They can never impose their hegemony on the North-East. The Mughal emperors tried to do that by sending the army to Assam and each time they had been turned away from the banks of Brahmaputra They cannot impose their way of life on the people of North-East

Sir, I think this is wrong policy economically also We make an economic study of the cattle in this country I make a submission that 80 percent of the cattle population in this country is uneconomic. Very few cattle in this county give proper type or quantity of milk. Many of them just go on champing out blades of grass and leaves leaving the country barren and are turning the country into a desert Some of them are being used as draught animals but a time comes when they are no longer used as draught animals What do you do with all these cattle? Are you going to watch them? You are going to allow them to champ up all vegetation in the country What are you going to do with it? This is uneconomic

I think, it is something right and good that this Government is going out of power in a few minutes. If they follow the kind of an economic policy which has got to be in sync with the economic developments in the world, they cannot suggest all these things. You have got to reform and one of the things you reform is to reform the way which you approach your cattle. Treat your cattle well, get the benefit out of them. What are they going to do with all these stray cattle? Either you eat them or you kill them, do something. England today is facing what they call 'the mad cow disease' of the beef. The destruction of these cattle and even the cost of destruction has become a big problem in that country. What are they going to do with it here? They have to think about it.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, if this is the way in which the BJP conducts its affairs, I can tell you that the whole of the North-East from Bhutan right up to Naga will be forbidding them psychologically. Nobody will listen to them. They have been able to make some progress in that area mostly by over indulgence. But this time even that little progress will be swept out. Nobody is going to listen to them. They have nothing to do in West Bengal. They have nothing to do in Andhra Pradesh and nowhere else in the South. The whole country is being divided between the cowbelt and the non-cowbelt. But even in the cowbelt areas the Muslis, the low-caste and the other people will rise against you. If you thing that you are going to benefit when you go out of office, if you think that you will benefit out of sympathy wave, it is going to be the other way. It tell you, I predict that when the elections are held you are going to do very poorly. You are not going to get even the number that you have today.

*[Translation]*

SHRI MEIRA KUMAR (Karol Bagh) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the Motion of Confidence. I would like to recite a couplet of Galib. Mr. Speaker, Sir, with your permission I, on behalf of the Members of the BJP, want to recite-

Nikalane Khuld Se Adam Ka Sunte Aaye They,

Lekin Bahut Be-Abru Hokar Tere Kuche Se Nikle.

Today is the day of bidding farewell to BJP Government...*(Interruptions)* Though the BJP has maximum number of MPs, it got only 23 percent votes. Even then the hon'ble President invited them...*(Interruptions)* Shri Rajiv Gandhi had bought Panchayati Raj Bill in which there was a provision of 33 percent reservation for women. The BJP had opposed that Bill and not allow it to be passed. One of the women members of that party is standing and she is not ready to listen. They are based against women.

SHRIMATI BHAVNA CHIKHLIA (Junagarh) : It is totally wrong.

SHRIMATI MEIRA KUMAR : I was saying that the Hon'ble President invited them to form the Government only because they have maximum number of MPs. The decision of the hon'ble President was fair and in conformity with the constitutional conventions and propriety. Nobody can challange it. But the fingers are being raised on the decision of the BJP to accept his invitation. The right decision of the BJP would have been to humbly refuse to accept the President's invitation as was done Shri Rajiv Gandhi in 1989. Al that time, the Congress had more strength then the BJP has now. This is the main differnece between the Congress and the BJP. Though we did not waver from our stand then, the BJP has deeply immersed in the mire of lust for power. You talked of principles and value-based politics but when time came for enthronement, you became desperate. Today the whole country is a witness to your profession and practice. You have been exposed before the whole nation. You are claiming that by hook or crook run the Government for full term. You launched a propaganda and made all attempts to win over one third Congress Members to you side. Big businessmen, with suitcases filled with currency notes, were lodged in Five Star hotels. The whole nation is a witness that the BJP which makes loud proclamation of its principles, has deviated from it and now they are making allegations of corruptions against Congress. Atalji is present here. I have great respect for him. But the tragedy of Atalji is that on the one hand his heart wants to touch the new heights and on the other hand, his feet are entrapped in a mire of communal politics. This irony has become his destiny and identity. He could not resist the temptation of grabbing power, although for 15 days only. He had a long cherished ambition. ...*(Interruptions)* It has been his long cherished ambition and when an opportunity came, he took time by the forelock...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Speaker, Sir, Shri Advani had been performing 'rath-yatra' for a long time...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRIMATI BHAVNA CHIKHLIA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, he is not present here. Therefore, his name cannot be mentioned here...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI MEIRA KUMAR : He was addressing the people from a vehicle. It is not an allegation. *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : She is not making any allegation against anybody.

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down. You would be benefited from it.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI MEIRA KUMAR : Shri Advani was thinking that Rath Yatra would pave way for his rise to the office of the Prime Minister... *(Interruptions)* But his ambition was shattered due to his involvement in Hawala Case.

After that, Atalji tookover the reins and the race for the coveted post continued. Ultimately, he has reached his destination but there is gloom all around.

Sir, if asked, I would term this thirteen days old Government as an illusion. They are mistaken that they would win the vote of confidence. They have been feeling elated for the last thirteen days. They have already taken a decision on Dabhol Power Project. *(Interruptions)* I am coming to the same point. We had read in the history during school days that when 'Bhishti' (water carrier) became ruler for one day, he circulated leather coin. Likewise, when these people got thirteen days, they took far-reaching decisions like Enron Project... *(Interruptions)* Ours is multi religious country. If tolerance, generosity and secularism are given up, this system will collapse.

Yesterday, I listened to Atalji's speech. It was a speech in perturbation. He kept on clarifying for a long time that the BJP was not a communal party but was a secular party. The 'Satya Narayan Katha' (a religions discourse) is performed at our homes..*(Interruptions)*

After that, 'Prasad' is distributed. It is said about the 'Prasad' that it should be taken only in that much quantity as may not go down the throat. If it is taken in excess, the person consuming it will become profane. They have taken the 'Katha' of secularism as 'Prasad'. They have not assimilated secularism to their soul like the Congress.

They talk of only one religion. Where will other people go? They speak against Muslims, then what should Muslims do? Should they consider them second grade citizens or take suicidal dip in Indian Ocean? What happened in Ayodhya? A number of people were killed in the name of 'Shilanyas' (foundation laying ceremony). This fascist practice and the ideology of Godse will not be allowed to prevail. Only secularism will prevail here.

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude now.

*[Translation]*

SHRIMATI MEIRA KUMAR : I would like to ask that if you are true devotees of Lord Rama then you should visit the houses of untouchables in villages, cities and slums of the country and share food with them as Lord Rama had eaten the plums defiled by Shabri. *(Interruptions)* You treat the Dalit and exploited people of the country as untouchable. What sort of Hinduism you talk about? Hinduism advocates 'Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam' (the whole world is like one family) *(Interruptions)* Are you ready to accept any Harijan as a member of your family? You are not ready. Your idelogy of 'Vasudhaiv Kutumbakam' and 'Hinduism' oscillates between temple construction and cow-slaughter. That is all about your Hinduism...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please conclude, there are many more speakers in the list.

*[Translation]*

Please conclude, after reciting a couplet.

SHRIMATI MEIRA KUMAR : I am reciting a couplet of Ghalib. They had high aspirations and for that, they had worked very hard. They had even taken the help of R.S.S. volunteers to capture more than 300 seats and rule at the centre...*(Interruptions)* I now recite the couplet.

"Hazaron Khwahishen Aisi Ki Har Khwahish Pew Dam Nikale,

Bahut Nikale Mere Arman (be it Dabhol or Enron)

Lekin Phir Bhi Kam Nikale."

MR. SPEAKER : Thank you.

SHRI SURJEET SINGH BARNALA (Sangrur) Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Confidence Motion moved by Atalji

Recently, elections were held to Lok Sabha under the regime of the Congress Party. During the regime of the Congress, the corruption was rampant in the country...*(Interruptions)* That is why, all parties had united to oust the Congress from power. Among them were regional parties and so called National Parties. I agree with Shri Murasoli Maran that now there is no National Party and all parties have become regional parties. As a result of this unity against Congress, there was split in the Congress and their strength was reduced from 267 to 136 i.e almost half. The people of the country punished them for their policies. Today, they are sitting in Opposition benches. They have been ruling the country for a long time. They have become accustomed to power. They cannot rule the country directly. Now, they are trying to enter from the backdoor and rule the country. They are also trying to rope in many other Members.

Shri Sharad Pawar is my old friend While recounting the achievements of the Congress, he said that peace has prevailed in Punjab due to efforts of the Congress Party. But what has happened now? We all, including the leaders of BSP were opposing the Congress. They had only one point that they uprooted the terrorism there. Had they done so, they would not have faced such a drubbing in Punjab In the previous Lok Sabha, Congress had 12 Members out of total 13 seats. But this time, only two Members have been elected from the Congress Party there One of the elected Members of the Congress is sitting

beside me and another Member is sitting there. This is the position of the Congress Party. It means that people have rejected them. They have rejected them because people of Punjab know that the Congress was responsible for bringing terrorism there. The Congress abetted terrorism.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, they have been cheating us and committing outrage on us since independence. When States were being formed on the basis of language, then Punjabi was not given recognition and it was said that no State would be formed on the basis of Punjabi language. We had to continue the movement for 10 years for this demand. We had to launch a movement against the Congress party. In 1966 the demand for creating Punjabi suba was accepted, the state of Punjabi speaking areas were excluded from it with a view to punish us. Such type of controversy continued...*(Interruptions)* Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would speak in brief due to paucity of time. Later on emergency was imposed. We were not arrested but we desired that democracy system should prevail in the country. Akali Dal decided to fight against it and organised a front. There were other big political parties in the country at that time, but none had done that. This process of arrest continued for 19 months. All the big leaders of our party were in jail. Our 46 thousand persons were arrested and put behind the bars. Our agitation continued till emergency was lifted. Later on democracy was restored and we got 'Operation Blue star' as punishment for it 'Darbar Sahib' was attacked with tanks and guns. The building of 'Akal Takht' was ruined Hundreds of persons were killed in it but none had expressed sorrow for it. We were assured that relief would be given but so far none went for it. I thank Shri Vajpayeeji for visiting 'Darbar Sahib' day before yesterday. After returning from 'Darbar Sahib' in a Press conference he said that it was an unfortunate incident. So far no one had said that...*(Interruptions)* Please listen to me. Now I would like to say what happened in November, 1984. In Delhi which is the capital of the country sikhs were massacred as general massacre was ordered by Nadirshah when he came to Delhi. Who were involved in it? Thousands of people were killed in the country and 5000 persons were killed in Delhi alone.

It was admitted in this House but I am sorry to say that no resolution was passed or two minutes silence was observed in this House to express sorrow over it. In this way we were compelled to fight against Congress. This House observe silence on petty issues but silence was not observed on massacre of thousands of people, looting and burning of their houses. In Delhi only property worth Rs. 500 crores was destroyed. What could be worse than that. Today more than 10 years have passed but people did not get justice. No action has been taken against the identified persons. A number of Committees and Commissions were set up in this regard which identified big leaders of Congress. But no action was taken against those persons. Paswanji had shown some sympathy to us. Miscreants entered his house and even burnt that. He identified those persons. They were none but workers of Congress party. Apart from it if any help was received from anybody else, they were BJP workers, they saved sikhs. Set up camps and provided relief to them. Today after so many years we could not get justice. Our several big leaders were arrested and sent to jails but we did not get justice even after a period of more than ten years. Now we are elected to this House and demand that we should be given justice. We are also the citizens of this country and have ourselves decided to live in this country. We suffered a big loss to live in this country. We should be given justice what could be worse than that? We had to fight with them. They were defeated in Punjab. They spread terrorism and worsen the situation there, whenever they got chance.

I would like to say that such a situation continued in Punjab for a long time.

The very first regional Party Government was formed in Pepsu, which is a part of Punjab today. Launching of regional parties started from there.

*[English]*

Shri Maran, a regional Government was formed there is 1952.

*[Translation]*

Sardar Rarewala, who was the President of Akali Dal, became Chief Minister. But that Government did not last long and after six months, Article 356 of the constitution was imposed to the Government was dismissed. Not only once but for six times Akali Dal Goverment was formed in Punjab and it is really an excess on the part of the Government that for all the six times it could not complete its tenure of function for more than two years. What more excesses could be committed. No other political party in the country has suffered to that extent. We tolerated all that. In such a deteriorated circumstances, Shri Longwal bravely signed an accord with Rajiv Gandhiji. That accord was presented in both the Houses and was passed unanimously but what happened to it? Consequently Santji was murdered and not a single clause of that accord has been implemented so far. It was the outcome of a written accord made by the congress with our party. You are also aware of the position of Human Rights in Punjab as you might be reading about it in newspapers. I am not getting an opportunity to make my submission in details due to paucity of time. Whereabout of Human Rights activist,

Shri Kalara are not known. We made several requests to find his whereabouts but so far nothing is known about him whether he is dead or alive.

Why we are suppoting this party. At various points we differ from the views of this party. Being a regional party we used to raise the issue of autonomy of states. We have spent a long time with Janata Dal and worked as their allies. We have given support to their Government from outside as well as by sharing power with them. We have sympathy for them. This party favoured us to an extent and said that culprits of 1984 communal violence should be punished. They also implemented the Punjabi. I would not take much time and try to finish at the earliest...*(Interruptions)* I am sorry, on a very few occasions I have taken part in the Parliament debate Members who speak daily can also commit mistake.

I was saying that we are having very good understanding with this party. In two Governments of Punjab BJP was one of the allies. At that time this party was known as Jan Sangh. In these elections also, we have supported BJP in Chandigarh and BJP supported our party on four seats in Punjab. We supported them in Delhi. Therefore, it is not a new thing or post election development. We have told earlier itself and written to the President that our party will support BJP. Now the United Front is being formed with the help of regional parties has only one point programme to remove BJP from power. Have you thought that what will happen then. All these 14 parties have been united to form the Government. CPM and Congress is supporting them from outside. Congress have also given support to Shri Charan Singh. I was a Minister at that time and very well know what happened to that Government. That Government lasted for 24 days and support was withdrawn later on. Shri Chandra Shekhar is also present here. Same thing had happened to his Government when he was Prime Minister.

They were considering to topple the elected Government of DMK. At that time I suggested that it was a duly elected Government which has majority and it should not be toppled on instigation of Congress because it would withdraw the support on this issue. I said to my friend that ...*(Interruptions)* We were united in emergency, but the support was withdrawn. It has been happening since long. I was saying that today they are uniting...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Ballia) : I have won by your grace. So I am highly grateful to you. If you feel satisfied with this, I would say that you are very great. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to Shri Barnalaji. While mentioning Punjab he did not remember me but at this moment he remembered my name. I think he was a Governor at that time, so I expect that much from him not to reveal those which transpired between us at that time. I do not want to repeat all those things, otherwise Shri Barnalaji, you will also not have a very good face.

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Barnalaji, kindly conclude now.

SHRI SURJEET SINGH BARNALA : I am concluding, Sir.

*[Translation]*

What I was saying is that it is a good thing that you all are coming together but how long this combination will last is not known, because the Congress Party is habitual of pulling down the Government and it is an old saying that old habits die hard. Therefore, they should first think as to how to control the Congress. I will conclude after saying one more point. Sir, while felicitating you, I said one thing in the House that we all have been elected by the people for five years. Many prominent leaders from different political parties have been elected. Now one Government is falling and the formation of another Government is also not going very smooth. We should all sit together and think as to who should rule the country. Nobody wants elections before the expiry of the term of five years. Even the people do not want elections but they expect us to do something to form a stable Government. We should think of a National Government. All intelligent persons are sitting here and they should think in that direction. Earlier, when I said so in this House I was asked by the News reporters whether we were not supporting the BJP Government. I told them that it was not so but I was saying it in the context that all other parties were thinking to pull down the BJP Government and that was why I asked them to think as to what they would do after the fall of this Government. The people of this country also desire to have a Government of consensus. Today many things are being said here. My friend Shri Mulayam Singhji was talking of unification of India, Pakistan and Bangaladesh. I am not against this perception rather I support it. It will be a good thing.

But when we are talking about the unification of other countries we should first unite ourselves and sit together. First we should create such atmosphere. If we do so the BJP people will also be not outcaste. They have helped us earlier also when Morajri Desai's Government was formed. You were also part of that Government. Shri Paswanji, Shri Chandra Shekharji and many other persons and parties were with us at that time. All parties came together and that combination worked for quite a long time. After that they supported the Government in 1989 also. They have not pulled down the Government like that of Congress party.

Therefore, I would request that all of us should think over all these points.

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Thank you. Mr. Surjeet Singh..

*(Interruptions)*

MR SPEAKER : Please sit down. I have to go by the strength of the respective parties. I am aware of the desire of many hon. Members who want to participate. I will try to accommodate them. Then, I have to go by the strength of the party. Your chance will come. You do not have to raise strength of the party. Your chance will come. You do not have to raise you hands again and again. Mr. Jaswant Singhji.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Only 10 minutes time is left. Mr. Jaswant Singhji.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (SHRI JASWANT SINGH) : I will... *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : You sit down. You can listen to me better when you sit down.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : You can hear me better when you sit down.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Jaswant Singh is the last speaker from their side. We have many small parties - AGP is there, Bahujan Samaj Party is there, you are there. It is for the House to decide whether we should give chance to them or we should go for voting. I think it is fair if we give chances to smaller parties - two minutes each.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Speak one by one. I cannot hear you.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Twenty people are speaking at a time. I cannot hear anybody.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK (Agra) : You had announced yesterday that voting will be held at 1.30 PM. You have already crossed seven hours going to nine hours. You should stop it and go for voting.

MR. SPEAKER : I said, the voting will tentatively be held at 1.30 PM.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Hajipur) : The Prime Minister will also speak.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK : Why does the Prime Minister not speak now?

MR. SPEAKER : If the United Front says that no more speaker from your side is going to speak and as there is no more speaker from Congress side, I can straightaway ask the Prime Minister to reply the debate.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Yes, straightaway the Prime Minister can do it...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. SPEAKER : If Mr. Kanshi Ram wants to speak, then I have to give him a chance. If he does not want to speak, than I call the Prime Minister.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK (Aska) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, please call the Prime Minister to wind up the debate and then go for voting.

*[Translation]*

THE FINANCE MINISTER (SHRI JASWANT SINGH) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have given me 10 minutes' time. ...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

SHRI G.M. BANATWALA (Ponnani) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am on a point of order under rule 190.

MR. SPEAKER : What is you point of order?

SHRI G.M. BANATWALA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, under rule 190, it is your responsibility and I simply remind you that every debate must be just and fair. I can very well understand the impatience for the voting. But at the same time, there are various smaller parties also and justice must be given to them within the time constraint. My party, the Muslim League was specifically referred to, by the Home Minister. As a disciplined Member, I am waiting for my turn. Now, if we, the smaller parties, are so ignored, then, I think, that justice is not being done under rule 190. Of course, within the timeframe we are all impatient for the hour of reckoning to come and we shall cooperate with you for the hour of reckoning. But at the same time, I request that under rule 190, a fair debate should be allowed, giving chance to every smaller party to state their point of view. That must be acceded.

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Banatwala, this is precisely I thought. What you have pointed out is quite fair and I think we can have a little more patience to accommodate the smaller parties.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Mr. Speaker, Sir, you can give an indication as to how many speakers are there to speak now and say as to when the voting will be taken up, so that some of us can go for lunch and come back. I think this will at least ease the pressure. Please give chance to my friend for his farewell speech as Minister. Please do not stop him.

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : The voting system too will take two hours.

*[English]*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, my request to you is that today this debate must be over and the voting must be over, because I have a feeling that they will take it upto Six o'clock and then they will try to spill over to day-after-tomorrow. Let that be made absolutely clear and let them commit that they will not raise any objection about the time and that the whole process would be over today itself. If necessary, we shall have to sit longer. But let them give that commitment first. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI E. AHAMED (Manjeri) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Members of the major parties like the Congress and the B.J.P. have already been called to speak and only the respresentatives of smaller parties are there to speak now. You may please call the smaller parties, including that of ours, the Muslim League. Then you can ask the Prime Minister to reply and have the voting. We are also anxiously waiting for the voting. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SURESH KALMADI (Pune) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, please adjourn for lunch interval. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Sir, we do not want any lunch break.. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please listen to me. Please take you seat. When I am on my legs you cannot stand up like that.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : We have decided today morning that we will not take up zero hour and Matters Under Rule 377 in order to save that one hour time. But then the issues were raised in such a manner that we had to spend almost one hour during zero hour. That is how we are little behind the schedule.

I can appreciate the problems and difficulties of the hon. Members that quite a number of you are feeling hungry. Well I must recognise that. But at the same time, I must also give equal opportunity to the smaller parties. I think, we can fix the voting at 3.30 p.m. In the meantime, some of you would like to go out for lunch and come back.. *(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Mr. Speaker, Sir, just now, I have witnessed the impatience shown by my friends. As soon as you announced that voting would take place at 3.30 pm, the entire House bore a deserted look. I could not make out whether this impatience was for vote, for the Chair of for lunch.

I have listened to the brief but effective speech of Sardar Surjeet Singh Barnala with rapt attention. Whatever he said has touched my heart. Many things emanate from his speech. I remember, I was a Member of Parliament at that time also and it was after a great deal of effort that I was able to extract the information from the Government that 3000 people had been murdered in October-November, 84 riots in Delhi. For that your Government was responsible. I know the duties of a man in uniform.

**13.55 hrs.**

(Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee *in the Chair*)

I had particularly asked as to how many armed personnel were killed in uniform. After a persistent effort of many months I could get the figure.

*[English]*

Twenty eight Indians in the uniform were killed simply because they subscribed to the faith of Guru Govind Singh Saheb.

*[Translation]*

It was your responsibility. My good friend comrade Indrajit Gupta who is elder to me in all respects has said that it is the fight of ideologies. He is right that it is the fight of ideologies. Many times I wonder that after having stuck to his ideology throughout his life, what company comrade Indrajit has chosen for himself to sit with. Shri Sharad Pawar had referred to the Prime Minister and his lifelong 'Brahamcharya' (celibacy), but I want to ask comrade Indrajit as to where his celibacy is heading? The Opposition Members have referred to Assam.

*[English]*

My leader and today the hon. Prime Minister deputed me to Assam. I look at my good friend Shri Birendra Prasad Baishya, the leader of the AGP Parliamentary Party. I recollect vividly and poignantly he was a victim of your operation. He was lying injured in his village. There was no one from your organisation or from any other organisation to look at Assam or to look at the pain of Assam. Comrade Indrajit Gupta cited some references from a book. If there was one national leader at that time who shared the agony of Assam it was today's Prime Minister because it was he who deputed me to go to Assam. I recollect it very well.

*[Translation]*

I was also a Member of Parliament. Shri Baishya has forgotten. I went to his village to take care of him. He was the victim of the atrocities of Congress Party. Today they are talking of ideology.

*[English]*

My friends in the DMK, I do not know where they are just now, those that sit with you.

*[Translation]*

Are telling us about the percentage of votes and number of seats. I would like to remind them of the 1983 elections in Assam.

*[English]*

The average polling, other than Barak Valley, was 3 percent. My friend from AGP remembers that at 3 percent polling, the Congress formed the Government. Ninety seven percent of Assam was opposed to it.

*[Translation]*

It is only now that they are recollecting the percentage of votes. I want to remind them of the 1992 elections in Punjab. In that election, the Congress Party secured only eight percent of votes and yet it formed the Government in the State. And now they are giving us sermons on percentage of votes, number of seats and the mandate. As Shri Surjeet Singh Barnala has aptly said that it is the loss of Government that is upsetting them. That is why they have brought other parties to the forefront. My leader had deputed me to Assam. At that time a big leader of the then Janata Party Ravindra Verma who is maintaining some distance from politics right now...*(Interruptions)* I am amazed at their behaviour.

Ram Vilas ji is not present here. Srikant ji, your actions are amazing. Please do not take ill. According to today's Parliamentary Bulletin, another good friend of mine has become the Chief Whip of the Congress Party. When I see that you go to him to get instructions, it really hurts me. You will get these instructions from them and you have already made the beginning. So what Shri Surjeet Singh Barnala says is correct. We shall see that they will be in the driver's seat, but neither breaks, nor accelerator nor

**14.00 hrs**

Steering wheel will be in their control. Being in driver's seat, would not you be responsible? We have no objection to your driving such a vehicle. But that vehicle is named India and whatever befalls this vehicle will ultimately affect the fate of crore of people of India.

*[English]*

I am appalled at the manner in which you approached the cynicism with which this whole business of governance of India is being approached....

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : What is your claim to governance?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I will tell you what the claim to governance is...*(Interruptions)* I will yield to you ten minutes. But you give me a few minutes.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : You are a good speaker. You are an efficient one also. But you should not mislead the House...*(Interruptions)* Let me finish. We are not disturbing your leader. Your Prime Minister will speak and none of us will disturb him. When you say that in Assam there was three percent polling, and in Punjab there was eight percent polling, there was not any opposition. Today, you have got 20 percent. All of us put together has got 80 percent votes. We have got 28 percent votes. So, we do not want to learn from you. Through your statement, you are misleading the House. You claim that you are in-charge of Assam. I do not want to quote your speech in this House, what you said sitting in this side. Subsequently you have corrected that you have given some incentive to the AGP Government. We know about that. But that was not good. The point is that the AGP has done something. They are doing good. So, we support them. They are coming into the national mainstream. They are doing very well and so we are supporting them.

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA (Mangaldoi): Madam, I want to make clear one thing. I am speaking from my heart.

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have your tune. Will you kindly speak at that time?

SHRI BIRENDRA PRASAD BAISHYA : With reference to what the hon. Minister Shri Jaswant Singh said, I would like to say something. With great respect to Shri Jaswant Singh I would like to say this. He said that Shri Vajpayee helped us a lot during the Assam agitation. Shri Jaswant Singh help us a lot during the Assam agitation. We, the people of Assam, are really grateful to Shri Jaswant Singh and Shri Vajpayee. There is no doubt about it. In the 1985 elections, the people of Assam democratically elected the Assam Gana Parishad to power. For the first time in the political history of Assam, a regional party, the Assam Gana Parishad took power there. In 1990, the BJP was advocating imposition of President's Rule in Assam. They also urged the Centre to impose Army rule in Assam. This is what I wanted to tell the House. Thank you.

DR. ARUN KUMAR SARMA (Lakhimpur) : Madam, there is one more point. Shri Jaswant Singh ji pointed out something concerning the Assam Gana Parishad Party. We have to make clear one thing. The point is that the BJP has, still now, the discriminately approach regarding the foreigners, who are coming from Bangladesh, in the name of religion, which has harmed this small nationalities in the North Eastern Region. All of us know about Tripura. The people of Tripura have kept the Indian nationalism in tact. Because of the influx of a particular community from Bangladesh, this community is going to vanish. They are not only 12

percent. In most of the other States, if we allow this religious discrimination, most of the smaller nationalities will not have their rights in their own land. Only because of this that we cannot support the BJP because we are a secular party. They are talking about the nationality question in India. If the smaller nationalities are not allowed to grow, then how can the Indian nationality be formed?

That is the main difference of our party with Bhartiya Janata Party.

MR. CHAIRMAN : May I take that your Party's speech is over?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : No, Madam.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I think the point I had made in respect of my respected leader Shri Atal Bihari's long association with the Assam and North-East is well established. Even my good friend, the chief architect who gives orders to my friends Shri Srikanta Jena and Shri Ram Vilas...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : It is not expected from you.. *(Interruptions)* We have a standard to maintain.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I am sorry ...*(Interruptions)* The point was about the percentage ...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Jaswant Singh is on his legs.

Even then your are speaking?

*[English]*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I wish to share only one thought about the mandate of 1996. I do believe that the mandate of 1996 clearly, unambiguously rejects the Congress and if that has still to be explained with their loss in Punjab, Assam, Kerala and their diminution from the numbers that they were, as pointed out earlier, to 136 now, if they, strike that, they feel the mandate does not have favour, I cannot educate them on this score. I do believe that the mandate of 1996 in spirit is certainly for the BJP, it is certainly for the change and what this disharmony that is obtaining. The disharmony is between the spirit of the mandate of 1996 and the arithmetic of Parliament. This often happens in elected democracies that when you go down this road of first past the post, you will have a situation that the arithmetic of numbers in the legislature do not match the mandate or the spirit of the electorate. This is an audible point but that is the substance of what we obtain.

A point that was made by Shri Somnath Chatterjee, 'Why, what was your mandate? Why as the single largest Party?' As a single largest party, it was our obligation to our electorate, it was our obligation to the crores that voted for us, it was our obligation to the 23.9 percent electorate of India that voted for us. It was to honour that mandate. Whereafter, Madam, the responsibility of the single largest party is to reason, is to argue, is to attempt, to convince on grounds of programmes. This is precisely what we attempted to do.

I look at the impatience that is being demonstrated by various Members here that there ought to be no discussion in this House and that we should simply and straightaway go to voting. Madam, if this House, if this Parliament, if this assembly be not engaged in discussions of issues admittedly, you disagree with us, admittedly, I am not with Comrade Indrajit Gupta's favour or ideology — if I were, I would be sitting with him and he with me — but if this House does not discuss, then which assembly in India will discuss? And, if this House were only for voting, then why not convert it into a police station? Why not send the polling boxes to the various...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Will you please hear me for half a minute?

Madam, yes, ordinarily it should be. It is a place for debate and discussion - of course, in a proper spirit also, and at the moment which is not there. But we are sitting here or meeting here for a particular purpose, definite purpose. The hon. Rashtrapatiji invited or appointed Shri Vajpayeeji to be the Prime Minister with the direction to obtain the confidence of this House. That means it is very clear, whether you have majority support or not, the hon Rashtrapatiji did not go into that exercise himself. According to respected Rashtrapatiji - whether I agree or not, that is different - the floor of the House is the place where the majority or the minority should be decided. I have not gone into that exercise. You Shri Vajpayeeji, the Prime Minister, immediately go within a definite time limit to find out the majority support.

That is what we have been saying. We know each other's point of view. We know each other's manifesto. The people of the country who have gone to the hustings, also know, what are the respective position of the different political parties

Therefore we are not here for the purpose of again repeating what our manifestoes say or what are the changes in the manifesto we are making. Obviously the President wanted to know whether you have got the majority support in the House to govern because majority is the essence of the parliamentary democracy. We are here being told now that majority has no meaning, the so called mandate of 20 percent is the authority That is why we have been asking to go to voting and find out for curselves establish your majority support in the House and then go to the President, tell him that you

have got the majority and rule for five years. If you do not get the majority support it is not our fault. You could not persuade anybody to join you. Is it our fault? Is it our obligation to keep you there when we have also fought against you?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I accept what the hon. Member Somnathji says, but in part only. He said that it should be done within a timeframe. The hon. Head of the Republic, the President, said by 31st May. We are abiding by that. You are showing impatience within that timeframe.

*[Translation]*

A very senior member of the House who had also been the Prime Minister has gone too far. I cannot say as to what prompted him to do so. My esteemed colleague who has come with you.

*[English]*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Let us decide for ourselves what we shall do or shall not do. I am not giving you any advice; you need not give unsolicited advice to us. We can look after ourselves. Do not bother whether we are right or wrong. You try to show whether you have got the majority support. That is your only obligation...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : You all have agreed just a little before regarding a particular time of voting. That is why I am saying that this is your time and this is your decision. So, I believe you will kindly cooperate to stick to your own decision.

SHRI RAJIV PRATAP RUDI (Chapra) : But why should he interrupt the speaker again and again?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : He yielded to me. I spoke only with his permission. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please do not shout, that will take away some more time. That is why I am requesting everybody to stick to their time and not intervene in between so that we can keep to the time ultimately. For the small parties also I want to say that they will have to abide by the time that has been fixed.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I diligently and most obediently obey your direction. I was only yielding to my good friend, Somnathji. He wanted to make a point. It would have been extremely discourteous if I had not yielded. Surely in the heat of the debate we have not lost that elementary courtesy to each other. We can disagree.

The point, however, is made that the former Prime Minister, a very senior Member of this House whom we held in very high regard.

*[Translation]*

He has gone too far. I am distressed to make a point in this regard. Today Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee adorned the Prime Minister's chair on the request of the party only. I need not remind you that when Shri Chandra Shekhar became the Prime Minister he had quit his party and become the premier. He had joined hands with the people who were your staunch political opponents. I am greatly distressed when a person of such a high stature gives us this sort of lessons. I would not have gone into all this, but I was very distressed yesterday when a person of Shri Chandra Shekhar's stature said such a thing. We are always prepared to take lessons from him. I learned a lot from Somnathji everyday. Now let me proceed further.

*[English]*

I cite another example of the principal speaker fielded by the principal party in Opposition. I found it very strange because he himself was not familiar on that territory.

*[Translation]*

Shri Sharad Rao Pawar while making his speech recited a Urdu couplet. Urdu is a delicate language and his typical Marathi accent was nothing but a mismatch. What prompted him to drift into this delicate area. It appears that the politics of the Congress Party compelled him to recite the couplets. Everybody knows the matter in which Shri Sharad Pawar has acquired expertise. The person who is sitting on his right should be more concerned for this expertise. I would remind Shri Sharad Pawar that during 1982 to 1986 he was able to come to power with BJP support...*(Interruptions)* When he came to power with our support he did not notice any demerit in us. When people ask us to form the Government at the Centre, he sees the ghost of communalism in it.

*[English]*

I give a third example. I recollect vividly those momentous days of 1990 and I am sure, my friend Srikant will also remember. The Raja of Manda, Vishwanath Pratap Singh, the then hon. Member from Fatehpur, as Prime Minister of our country lost his majority in the House. I do not know where this morality about immediately seeking the confidence was, about which Somnathji, since yesterday, has been giving me one firing after another. Please do not give me so many, please do not give us so many, of that. I do not know where that principle of immediately seeking the confidence of the House was Where did that go? I recollect it very well.

*[Translation]*

Today the same Raja of Manda has become the leader of all.

*[English]*

I am astonished that he is also the self-accepted leader of my good friend, Chidambaram. I, at times, wonder at the transformations that are taking place in the political scene of the country. And, all is because of this two-point-programme, 'give me the chair; stop BJP'. In 1990, when the Raja of Manda did not have the majority in this House, he took his own time. He took his own time, he sought the vote of this House, he sought to be defeated in this House, before he resigned. What was my good friend, the eminent barrister from Calcutta? ...*(Interruptions)* Where, then, was your call for all these moralities? I will proceed further.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : You let him down.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Jaswantji, your time is going away. It is over, really. You do not listen to others, please.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : How can I not listen, Madam, when my hon. friend, the hon. Member from Bolpur speaks? How can I not listen to him? I have to. I am sure, you, with compassion in your heart...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : The last gasping hon. Member from Chittorgarh, in your garb of Finance Minister, I wish, you have been in another Government not wasting your time there.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Madam, I will say just one word about continuity because a reference was made on the nature of Government. Though I have made this point earlier, I think, need to reiterate it. The Constitution does not make any distinction between Government that is yet to win its confidence and that has not won its confidence. I accept the point that there are restraints upon Government and those restraints have been followed faithfully by this Government, under the hon. the Prime Minister, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. I cite the example of Kashmir. We have a major political difference with the Congress Party. We were of the view that the time is not correct to hold elections in Kashmir. We had said, 'despite and notwithstanding our objection to holding elections in Kashmir, we will participate' We inherited that decision.

Just as we honoured the decision to go ahead with the elections in Kashmir. The other inherited continuity, the other inherited decision is the only decision that this Government carried forward and only with the national interest in mind. Madam, I make one appeal on only two aspects. The principal speaker from the principal party in Opposition, the hon. Members is from Baramati and it is very strange because when Coca-Cola was to come up, suddenly a lot of land was found near Baramati, Coca-Cola could buy land only near Baramati.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Jaswant Singhji, in any case he is not here. Why should you refer to his name?

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I am not referring. *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude. This will be your last point.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I hope you will approve my restraint because I am actually not referring to that fact wherein some dubious characters were carried in an Indian Airforce plane from Varanasi to Pune. If I do not refer to it, it is because I do not believe in this whole business of guilt through association. If this guilt through association does not lie there, then how this guilt through association can lie with poor and hapless Kalpanath? I feel sorry for it. The assertion made by hon. Pawar was about economic security and the economic growth that had been demonstrated by the previous Government. I would like to mention just four or five broad pointers. In the past three years the fiscal deficit has exceeded all estimates. According to the interim budget, the interim budget of 1996-97, it stands at Rs. 62,000 crore or five percent of GDP. These are not the opinions. These are the facts. And if these are the facts, it does not lie in Shri Sharad Pawar's realm the hon. Member from Baramati who otherwise is a great specialist in many matters but in such matters it would be imprudent for him to encroach on territories. Madam, today because of this Government, Government borrowing is running at the rate of an average of Rs. 3,000 crore per month. At Rs. 3,000 crore per month of Government borrowing, it is the worst kind of profligacy that we have seen since Independence. Because of excessive adhoc borrowings from the RBI, we are heading towards the situation of accelerated inflation combined with squeezing credit where it is needed for the non-food sector, trade, industry and commerce. In the past five years of what they mis-call economic reform programme and like to put across as the principal achievement reflects for a movement on the perilous situation of our infrastructure. Not one megawatt of power has been in the past five years on account of their so-called economic reforms policy, not one kilometer road added, not one port created. Madam, I with great sense of responsibility put it to the House that the power sector in the country is on the verge of collapse. There is a Report of Energy Committee which my good friends share, the opening sentence of that Report is, 'Energy is security'. And this kind of situation in the power sector imperils the nation's security and if there is any one responsible for that, it is you, the Congress Party that is responsible and

you have chosen to be driven by this mindless driver to imperil the country.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Are you concluding now?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I do have number of other points. But I will conclude. It is only fair because you have been most considerate.

I, speaking on behalf of my party, my Government and on behalf of all of us here, the supporting parties - it is a generosity that they lend their support to us on principle - I do feel that this debate or the kind of post-election alliance-making or coming together without any programmes is really like changing the rules of the game after the goal has been scored. The electorate of India has scored the goal; and we are clearly the winners of that. The goal having been made, this collection,

*[Translation]*

Sardarji has mentioned about 17-18 political parties.

*[English]*

I do ask the hon. Member from Bolpur that if this is such a wonderful collection and such a wonderful gathering, then why did you dissuade the very eminent Indian and the very distinguished and a great partriot, your own Chief Minister? Why did you dissuade your Chief Minister from taking over the responsibility? You dissuaded him because you yourself are not convinced of the credibility of the 'arrangement' that you are making. Why? Why, Madam? Why is the Congress Party so tall? They are fearful of what Shri Sharad Pawar will do, and what will happen if they come into the Government Shri Sharad Pawar will get rid of Shri Narasimha Rao — the corridors of Parliament are full of these kinds of rumours...*(Interruptions)* I am very glad to hear that. I think, you should tell that to Shri Sharad very quickly...*(Interruptions)*

Sir, I have one final concluding thought. This is a serious thought. I urge you to reflect on this.

Madam, I am sorry. I am repeating the mistake of addressing you as Sir. The word is unisex; and I am sure you will not mind this error of tongue or the slip of tongue.

Madam, parliamentary or elected democracy is in itself a compromise. Political parties are themselves compromise on ideas. We arrive at an LCM, the lowest common factor of equation. Political parties work on the LCM of equation. Hon. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee's Government has attempted to find that LCM of common undertstanding in India. I believe and I believe this sincerely - I do not say this with any partisan feeling - that never, in the decade of the 1980s or in the 1990s, has such a sincere effort been made to find that LCM of common understanding in this country. I applaud Sardar Surjeet Singh Barnala. I may differ with him from the details of his suggestion. But I applaud him for the urge that he says. When he talks of a National Government, he is not talking of the form, he is talking of the substance, to find a common equation. You are rejecting that. How the collectivity of 18 or 20 or whatever the number is, you are rejecting that common understanding. You are rejecting that attempt of the hon. Prime Minister to find a working relationship, by which India could benefit.

Madam, I have one more thought. This is the first time that we are witnessing, Shri Somnathji, in our country what we have never witnessed before. All along, India has displayed in all elections, an acceptance of the electoral verdict, no matter how unpalatable or how unacceptable it may be. We have witnessed this in our neighbouring countries and I do not want to name them. We have witnessed in our neighbouring countries, precisely this — to reject the verdict of the electorate, moving on the basis of rejection.

**14.29 hrs.**

(Mr. Speaker *in the Chair)*

We are not fast approaching that point of rejecting the electorate's verdict by treating some as outside the panes. Please do not do it, because the path down this of rejecting the electorate's verdict simply because it is politically inconvenient to you is not a path that India should take. What does the experience of our neighbours teach us is the perils of that path.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I conclude by appealing to all of you, even now, to think of India, rise above your immediate passions, rise above your immediate prejudices and think of the arrangements, by convinced in your mind that the arrangement that you are trying to bring about will sub-serve the interest of India; and only then take the path that you wish to take.

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Prabin Sarma may speak for three minutes please.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : We are left with only fifteen minutes now. Do not waste the time.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : That is why I am telling you not to waste the time. If you stand up like this, you will not be getting your chance. You are wasting the time.

*(Interruptions)*

**14.31 hrs.**

DR. PRABIN CHANDRA SARMA (Guwahati) : Sir, I express my sincere gratitude on my own behalf and on behalf on Members of Parliament from AGP. I have taken the stand to take part in the debate on the Motion moved by the hon. Prime Minister and at the very outset, I oppose the Motion.

Today, lot of references have been made in the House regarding the State of Assam and probably, for that matter, the North-Eastern region. We feel proud that the House has taken cognisance of the fact that Assam also exists as a State within the country of India. Very many different issues have been raised, particularly one by our hon. Prime Minister, Shri Vajpayee that lot of infiltration has taken place into the State of Assam and when the very demography and the existence of the State of Assam is threatened, I am extremely sorry to mention that he has not been able to find a programme of action to contain these two very contentious issues. References have also been made by hon. Jaswant Singh regarding the events of Assam in 1983 and also in 1985. But I am extremely sorry to mention that a regional party which came into existence in 1985 and the Government elected by the popular mandate was pulled down, probably with the active cooperation of the BJP and the then Prime Minister Mr. Chandra Shekhar who must be present in this House, taking plea that one person was abducted and he was to be released within seven days ...(*Interruptions*)...Now, you please make your points only when I finish.

Now, I have taken the stand to speak for my people, for the people of my own constituency and also the people of Assam and for that matter, the people of the whole country. The verdict of this election is clear. I would like to lay exphasis on this particular point. The verdict is that there has been an emergence of different parties with different manifestoes but very much in tune with the enshrined, professed concept of the Constitution. In the manifesto and also in the functioning of the Government of the BJP headed by Shri Vajpayee, there has been lot of departures in the work programme. The concept of one nation-one people theory has given us a shock and the very unity and integrity of the nation is considered to be at stake. For this reason, this particular philosophy of BJP is not acceptable to us. The country of India lives in diversity and unfortunately, they are speaking of one nation and one people and they have forgotten that there are many people with different cultures. On this point also, we have lot of differences. The verdict is clear that this is not in favour of BJP nor for any of the national parties to rule the nation.

The verdict is clearly for those Parties who have faith in the Constitution and those people who stand for secularism, democracy and are pro-people. The BJP in their manifesto has not been able to find a place to incorporate the work programmes which are beneficial to people, who live in the villages. Therefore, we, the people of Assam who are mostly living in the villages, have not been able to see much important programmes for the people living in the villages and programme of action which they oppose to implement. These are some of the points for which we have a lot of difference with the BJP. I do not know if I should mention it or not but this has given us some shock before the elections, at the time of the elections and after the elections. References have also been made to that. There is a long-rope policy. The long-rope policy of the BJP is not acceptable to the people of Assam. They want to rule the country from Delhi; they want to dictate the people of Assam from Delhi, we do not like this. We want that the regional Parties should be considered equally important and they should also be pro-people. Now, there has been an emergence of a large number of Parties. All these Parties have come together to accept the mandate of the people and the mandate is for federalism. Whether some of us like it or not, the country may be in the near future, is heading towards a federal Government. So, we are in favour of a federal Government. We want that powers be decentralised through a federal Government. The BJP is a centrist force like many other national Parties. But then we oppose centrist forces. We want that all the resources at our command be utilised by the participation of our own Government.

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Sarma, please conclude now

DR. PRABIN CHANDRA SARMA : Sir, I want to be given some more time to make my points.

So, the people of Assam have been feeling for the last five decades that they have been exploited and this feeling has to be assuaged. This must be assuaged by the programmes of the Government that is at power at the Centre. There has been a feeling of disparity and dicrimination in the minds of the people of Assam. That feeling must go from their minds. There has also been a feeling that Assam has been neglected on economic and various other issues. The economic programmes have not been taken up in right earnest for the development of Assam as a result of which in spite of having a lot of natural resources, the State is one of the poorest State in the country. It is for this reason that we are feeling that the people of Assam should be understood in the right perspective.

Recently an incident took place in lower Assam. This aspect has also been referred to by the hon. Home Minister of India, Shri Murli Manohar Joshi. The Government of Assam headed by Shri Prafulla Kumar Mohanta was installed on 15th of May, 1996

Violence started on the 13th of May. The Chief Minister had convened an all political Party meeting and the representatives of the different political Parties including myself, Shri Arun Kumar Sharma, hon. MP, one Minister, Shri Biraj Kumar Sharma and Shri Durgadas Boro visited different camps where victims were kept and we saw their plight. We came to the conclusion that there were some designs behind it. The design was not understood by the hon. Home Minister of India. It is really a sad commentary. To add fuel to the fire, the top most officials left Assam when there was transition. Assam was left with only 41 companies of forces whereas at the time of elections it had 250 companies of forces and before elections the State had 200 companies of forces for controlling the internal law and order situation.

At the pre-election time there were 200 companies to guard the internal law and order situation. However, in spite of our having made a request, the Government of India declined to send more forces to guard the territory of Assam. Mr. Murli Manohar Joshi, the Hon. Minister made a mis-statement of facts that he wanted to go to Assam on 21st but he was not allowed. This is not correct. In fact, Mr. Mohanta himself requested him to visit Assam on 22nd. It is not correct that he was not asked to visit Assam.

There are certain other issue which I wanted to raise but time does not permit me. I hope in this House we will have enough time to make our points clear. With these few words, I conclude by saying that the motion moved by the poet, philosopher and our beloved Prime Minister is not acceptable to us at the moment and therefore, we oppose it. We hope that the BJP will realise its deficiencies and will come up to our expectations.

MR. SPEAKER : Why are you standing again and again? I told you to wait, Mr. Charles.

SHRI BOLLA BULI RAMAIAH (Eluru) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I strongly oppose the motion moved by the Prime Minister. Though personally we have great respect and affection for Mr. Vajpayee, our party's view is that the BJP Government in the Centre will be a severe setback to the communal harmony and unity and integrity of the nation. No doubt, Mr. Vajpayee is a moderate man having good ideas but it is known that he will be guided by RSS and VHP who will be driving BJP from behind the curtains. So, under his leadership the country will face a lot of problems. Do you remember the day on which Babri Masjid was demolished? It was a very important day. It was on the eve of centenary celebrations of Swamy Vivekanand's Chicago Addresses. This unfortunate thing was to be done on the same day. On 4th December, 1992, Mr. Vajpayee promised in this House that they will not demolish the mosque but only perform 'puja'. The unfortunate thing is that demolition took place in the presence of Party President, Mr. Advani and other big leaders. Such incidents cause disharmony in the country.

Our Party visualised long back that in the 11th Lok Sabha no single party will get the majority. We know it that in the Centre there will be a coalition Government comprising of parties deeply committed to the national unity, integrity, socialism, secularism, stability and development of the country. This Government will be committed to dynamic administration, development, genuine declaration of power, welfare measures, clean efficient and transparent administration and so many other things.

Today is the birthday of Late N.T. Rama Rao. Under the leadership of Shri Naidu, various new projects have been started in Andhra Pradesh. He has implemented a number of schemes for the downtrodden and backward people. He has given food, clothing, shelter and various other facilities to these people so that they are uplifted. What is happening under the present Government? So many things have been said. It is only the BJP which was responsible for the downfall of the VP Singh Government in 1990. It is only because of the *mandir* issue that it happened then. *Mandir* is in the hearts of the people: it is not on the streets. Everyone has a *mandir* in his heart. Mahatma Gandhi once said that there is only one God whether he is in a mosque, in a church or in a *mandir*. Even among Hindu Gods we have Lord Krishna, Lord Rama, Lord Shiva and many others. Religion cannot be dragged into the streets and it should not create commotion in the minds of the people. That is why we strongly oppose this BJP Government.

We all know what role they played in the happenings of recent past in UP. We know what type of support they have given for a Government and withdrawn it later. Their tactics are quite clear. With the support of 22 to 22.5 percent of the votes polled, they formed the Government whereas the United Front has got more than 45 percent of the votes polled. It has definitely got a right to say that it will be able to run the Government without any difficulty.

Shri Jaswant Singh has just said that the economy has to be improved. We have the ability to see that inflation is controlled, power generation is improved, the transportation is improved. They should be improved but not with the help of borrowings as suggested by Shri Jaswant Singh. There are factors which can be made to operate. Between the control of inflation and unemployment we have to see which is more important for the country. We have to see it depends upon the economy. We have a lot of talented people in the country when compared to the advanced countries like the United States of America. We should definitely make use of their abilities and

their strength in order to improve our economy within the resources available. We will try to build up the social infrastructure if not in the next five years, in the next decade. The United Front has the combined strength of various Parties. We will be able to work together with coordination.

The United Front is very widely represented in the country whereas the BJP has its representation from onlly a few parts of the country. We assure that we have the responsibility and we will be able to perform better based on various factors which we are going to mention here. In the current Lok Sabha, as you can see, we have 22 Members of Parliament belonging to Muslim and Christian minorities. Out of their number of 150 to 160 Members of Parliament, how many belong to the minorities? This shows clearly that they do not have any representation of minorities in the Lok Sabha. It is a clear indication that minorities are only represented in the United Front. We have the majority in the House and we can prove to the country that we have the ability to run the affairs of the country more effectively than anybody else.

*[Translation]*

SHRI KANSHI RAM (Hoshiarpur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have decided to allocate time on basis of number but the time has not been given on that basis. Even then, I will cooperate with you. I will conclude my speech within five minutes.

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Thank you very much.

*[Translation]*

SHRI KANSHI RAM : But we shall expect from you that this thing should not happen in future.

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Okay.

*[Translation]*

SHRI KANSHI RAM : I will not mention any such points which has been repeated again in this House. I would like to raise only two points, which have not been discussed. Yesterday, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee made a mention in his speech that everybody talks about communalism but nobody speaks about caste. Well, I would like to speak about casteism. The people who are victims of casteism in this country want to speak about it. They want to speak because they want to readicate casteism in this country. Baba Saheb Ambedkar wrote a Annihilation of castes 60 years ago in 1936 which he had written to annihilate caste-system. We struggled for whole of 1993. The motive of that struggle was to break the castes and joint the society. To raise the issue of catsteism is necessary for those who are victims of this system. We do not want to retain casteism, we want to eradicate it. I think it is imperative to speak for those who are victim of this system. Concealing a disease is no cure. We should have to ponder over it and have to find a cure. We talk about castes, only with a view to find its cure.

What do we propose to do by talking about caste—we want to eradicate casteism and usher in a change in this country.

The other think which Atal ji said was about change. I do not know what type of change BJP wants to bring about; but these days everybody is talking about change.

When, with the formation of our Government in Uttar Pradesh lasting four months, we brought into existence at Lucknow a square symbolising change, in order to establish the the credentials of Bahujan Samajwadi Party as a party which stood for change, the Bhartiya Janata Party and other parties opposed our move.

We started organising festivals commemorating our great figures like Baba Saheb Ambedker, Mahatma Jyotirao Phule, Sahuji Maharaj and Periyar who were instrumental in heralding an era of change. When we organised the Periyar Mela, Bhartiya Janata Party opposed it vehemently. Mr. Joshi who is sitting over here, came down all the way to Lucknow to impress upon me the underability of organising the festival at Lucknow and advised us to hold it in Delhi instead. If we were very particular about it, said to him ...*(Interruptions)* I want to finish my speech in five minutes.

I said to him that at present we have our Government in Uttar Pradesh, that is why we are holding it in Lucknow. We will change the venue to Delhi when we have our Government there for which we have already started making efforts in order to be able to get rid of the caste system on our own and unite and organise people by breaking the caste barriers.

Baba Saheb Ambedkar had brought to us separate electorate which is not there today. We, therefore, desire to be able to have majority on our own. We, want to unite people instead of dividing them, that is why we talk of those sections of people who form the bulk of the sŏciety (Bahujan Samaj).

Here a change is being talked about now but we had to face opposition when we brought into existence at Lucknow a square symbolising change and later on when we organised festivals commemorating those great figures who had longed and strived for change. I am, therefore, of the opinion that although the BJP does say nice things, its conduct tends to be otherwise. Going by the present signs of gradual improvement in their conduct, they decide to cooperate with us in heralding change in this country together in the coming times when their conduct may stand considerably improved. In any case, I think the need to bring about a change, a social transformation is this country is paramount for those people who have been through the ages, downgraded, insulted and subdued on the basis of the

social system. This is why these people talk in terms of caste in order to bring about a change and by invoking caste they tend to unite rather than divide people.

We have to strive not only for social change but alround change. For that matter we will have to bring about a change in the economic field also. In our country those people who produce foodgrains by ploughing the fields, do not own the fields they plough so assiduously. Undergoing misery and starvation they migrate from their villages to cities. As our Government itself tells us, 18 crore people have so far deserted the countryside and settled in the cities. Even in the cities their condition is most miserable. As we live in a city like Delhi, we are well aware of their condition. Therefore, we stand for bringing about a change not only in the economic and social fields but in every aspect of human life and will extend our co-operation to any party willing to effect such change. But under the prevailing circumstances, I am convinced that the Bhartiya Janata Party despite all its professions for change, is not the least interested in it. They are adherents of the ideology of Manu, which in my opinion, is an ideology which stands to thwart change, rather than bring it about. Therefore, keeping this ideolocy in view, I oppose this Motion.

*[English]*

SHRI PRAMOTHES MUKHERJEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, thank you for the opportunity given to me to express my views on the Motion of Confidence raised by the hon. Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

On behalf of my party RSP, I rise to oppose the motion. This is only because they are a minority Government, absolutely minority. The Council of Ministers headed by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee does not represent the will of the people. They do not carry with them the people's mandate. The people's mandate has gone not in favour of the BJP, the people's mandate has gone not in favour of their claim for the establishment of the Hindu State in India but the people's mandate has gone in favour of secularism. Moreover, the people's mandate has gone not in favour of one party rule with its opportunist allies but the people's mandate has gone in favour of a coalition. It is my observation and I consider that the Prime Minister, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee should immediately step down to pave the way for a secular coalition Government.

There is a question of stability in our parliamentary democracy. Stability cannot be defined in terms of number only. Stability can be defined in terms of good understanding, in terms of good programmes among the partners of the coalition. So far as the Uttar Pradesh alliance between BJP and BSP is concerned, it is a fact that the BJP cannot offer the country a good and stable coalition Government.

Again, we find that there is a radical change just after the people's mandate and that change is from one party rule to federalism. Regional parties have become the decisive factor in our national politics today. Just when we consider the nature of the people's mandate, we find that an era of coalition has already started at the Centre. This means that the BJP with its unitary bias cannot be aware of the fact of federalism, cannot be aware of the fact of this radical change towards the federal structure of our country. They are not aware of the fact that the regional parties have become a potent force in our national development.

**15.00 hrs.**

With these words, I beg to conclude my speech according to my commitment to finish my speech within a minute.

Lastly, I oppose the Motion of Confidence because I oppose fascism. I oppose the Motion of Confidence because of my love for democrary. I oppose the Motion of Confidence because I love my country more.

MR. SPEAKER : Now I call upon Shri G M Banatwalla to speak. I really admire your patience. Please be very very brief.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : Sir, I will cooperate with you.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the day and the hour of reckoning has come. The Prime Minister Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has moved a Motion for expression of confidence in his Council of Ministers.

I must say that it is a national tragedy that the BJP led Governmet has assumed power. It is as a result of a constitutional hazard. It is as a result of a constitutional hazard that the BJP and the Shiv Sena party are in power at the present hour. Otherwise, Sir, from day one it was extremely clear that the BJP has not majority and can never think of majority in this House. It is therefore a wonder how Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee accepted the invitation of the President to form the Government. It is very obvious that it was for party interests that a constitutional process was exploited. The BJP only believed that it is better to rule and be lost rather than never to rule at all. Such a cavalier attitude brought them to power. Such an exploitation of the constitutional process has brought them to power. It is a deplorable exploitation of the constitutional process. I am sure that the BJP led Government, through this Motion of Confidence in the Council of Ministers will be thrown out lock stock and barrel.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, tall talks are made of security of life and property of the minorities, hollow assertions that they are. Here we have the BJP and the Shiv Sena party who do not even believe in the concept of minorities. That is why, wherever they came to power in the States, they have been winding up the Minorities Commission.

Now the Home Minister went to the extent of calling everyone a Hindu, who is living in Hindustan. But a Hindu resident of Nepal, not a resident of Hindustan is

also called a Hindu. A Hindu resident of any other foreign country, brought up in that country having the citizenship of that country, not residing in Hindustan, is also called a Hindu. Therefore, Sir, such misleading type of propaganda goes on and the hon. Home Minister had also the courtesy and was pleased to refer to the Muslim League and challenged the secular credentials of the Muslim League. I know very well that they look at their face in the mirror. They got terrified of their anti-secular image and then want to dump it on somewhere or the other. Otherwise I challenge that not a single incident can be shown of the Muslim League having ever adopted any anti-secular move.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, they talk about the security of the minorities. We know their track record.

On the 6th of December, 1992, these BJP cadres and the Sangh Parivar cadres, in the full view of the BJP leaders and with the encouragement of the BJP and Sangh Parivar leaders, amidst applause from Sangh Parivar leaders, brought about the *shahadat* of Babri Masjid. We know their track record. We know that they cannot even respect their own President, their own leaders and Ministers. The shameful things of Gujarat are there before us. Therefore, such hollow assertions will not win anybody.

The Prime Minister has been pleased to refer to the question and the need for a uniform Civil Code and the abrogation of the Personal Law. Time does not permit me to dwell at length. I must only say that an attempt at forcible imposition of any uniform Civil Code will make it only a divisive force. As far as Shariat is concerned, it is a divine law and a Muslim would like to lay down his life rather than be deprived of the Shariat.

Now Ram Jethmalani Saheb is also the Law Minister. The very first day when he went to the office, he called all the files relating to the Personal Law and uniform Civil Code.

For paucity of time, I only want to remind the Government of what Dr. Ambedkar said in the Constituent Assembly while talking of the uniform Civil Code. It was Dr. Ambedkar who had said that that Government will be a mad Government which will try to impose a uniform Civil Code on the unwilling people. It was the judgement of the mad Government that was given and applies to bow the people who are none there in the Treasury Benches.

There are several things but you are impatient. Again and again I will have to come to you, asking for time, and at that time also you will be indulging. Therefore, I will conclude, leaving aside several other matters. This national tragedy of their having come to power must come to an end immediately in the national interest. We shall be opposing their polity, the philosophy of the Hindutva and the Hindu Rashtra. The hon. Member, Indrajit Guptaji, has already read out abstracts from Guru Golwarkar's thoughts of what is going to be the position under their ideology of the minorities. Therefore, the Muslim League has taken a considered view and a considered decision from day one. We shall be opposing the Motion of Confidence in order that this Council of Ministers is thrown out with all the force that this House can command.

*[Translation]*

SHRI JAI PRAKASH (Hisar) : Mr. Speaker Sir, I rise to support the motion presented by the Prime Minister. Shri Sharad Pawar was stating yesterday that Bhartiya Janata Party has brought a stigma to the democracy. Bhartiya Janata Party has not done so but the people of India with their mandate have sent it to this House as a largest single party and we have simply respected the people's mandate. It is the Congress party which has stigmatized the democracy. You should remember the manner in which the Congress leaders resorted to horse trading in the lobby of this very house and you will not find any such other example throughout the world. This matter has been pending in the Court at present. Then how come this party can brand the Bhartiya Janata Party as a stigmatized party. How can they talk about the stigmatization of the democracy?

With deep regret I have to say that all such powers are today coming together which has been opposing the then Prime Minister and the present leader of the opposition on telecom scandal only five, six months back . . . **(*Interruptions*)...How Congress Party has become blemishless now?

I would like to tell my friends in the National Front that today efforts are going on to mislead the people. Today, Congress party talks about communalism. Among our friends, Akali Dal leader Shri Surjit Singh Barnala has been telling that two issues pertaining to Haryana and Punjab have been lingering on for the last 15-20 years. One is about the digging of S.Y.L. canal and the other concerns transfer of Chandigarh and Fazilka. Congress Party has been in power in the Centre since the creation of Punjab and Haryana in 1966 but this party had a policy that the issues pending between Haryana and Punjab should not be resolved. Efforts were made to incite trouble between these two States. What can be the worse act of inciting communalism . . .*(Interruptions)* Till recent past only, the Congress Governments were in power in Haryana as well as in Delhi. Then why did they make no effort to resolve these issues.. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI R.L. BHATIA : Ask the Akalis. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI JAI PRAKASH : In 1991, Congress party used to say that they would bring the S.Y.L. water *(Interruptions)* Today, their Members of Parliament have forfeited their security deposits. I would like to tell one thing to my friends that today the Congress party has

** Expunged as ordered by the Chair

been functioning under the leadership of such a leader ...*(Interruptions)* You are told to vote according to your conscience...*(Interruptions)* These friends are bound to the whip otherwise they could have left the Congress party...*(Interruptions)*

I would like to say only one thing that today the people throughout the country have been expressing the desire to have the Bhartiya Janata Party Government. We accept this fact that we could not get complete majority but on the other hand the persons who have contested elections against the Congress party are going to form the Government with the support of Congress party by duping the voters. Do you think the people woulds ever forgive this National Front? The reason behind this is that the people who had waged a battle against the then Prime Minister on sugar scam and the Prime Minister got one of his colleagues imprisoned under TADA, today the hon. member has stated that the former Prime Minister is involved in the sugar scam...*(Interruptions)* Then, how can they be blemishless today. I would like to make a request to my friends in the Congress party that they should state publicity whether or not they are involved in the sugar scam? If they are, then the left front should not seek support from such a party...*(Interruptions)* We are prepared to seek a fresh mandate from the people. Therefore, let us seek this mandate unitedly...*(Interruptions)* In Haryana, Bhartiya Janata Party and Haryana Vikas Party has formed the Government under the leadership of Choudhry Bansi Lal...*(Interruptions)*

I conclude while supporting the motion once again.

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISI (Hyderabad): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I oppose the Motion presented by Vajpayee Saheb seeking the Vote of Confidence since they accepted the offer to form the Government despite the fact that they did not have the majority perhaps with the motive that their name should go down in the History. Some poet has rightly said :

"Badnam Agar Honge To Kya Naam Na Hoga"

They are interested in their name only. On the other hand a similar historical event flashes across my memory that when the rule of Bahadur Shah Zafar was on the verge of collapse, the name of Jawan Bakht was being proposed as heir to the Sultanate. Now the same history is being repeated here and the present Government would become the past after 15 minutes. However, today we are passing through a very unusual situation and times. I fail to understand, what do they want. Then they say that they intend to make changes in the Muslim. Personal Law. You want to protect your own religion but you want to put restrictions on others. Sometimes you talk about Muslim Personal Law and other time you express your intention of constructing the Ram Temple in place of Babri Masjid. I would like to know whether this is the secularism about which Vajpayee ji makes claims? You may cover your face under any number of veils, but our penetrating sight can count the number of wrinkles on your face. Now, you should look into all these issues.

Any way, I have sympathy with you since the departing once deserve sympathy. This is the month of Moharram and while observing mourning we may bid you good-bye.

With these words, I conclude my speech.

SHRI SHIBU SOREN (Dumka) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are discussing the motion of Confidence presented by the Prime Minister. But going through the discussion it seems that the Government will be voted out today itself.

I come from Jharkhand and our demand for a separate Jharkhand State is a long pending one. We have lost election in Jharkhand and that too from BJP. I have continuously been asking a question. Today I am asking the same question from the Prime Minister that you always tell to protect one's cultural heritage and for this simple reason you have changed the name of Bombay city as Mumbai. Jharkhand is our mythological name which is highly revered. Since our culture belongs to jungle they renamed Jharkhand as Vananchal like Uttaranchal for Uttarakhand. What does this mean? If a man loses his identity and history than he is not going to gain anything. Which state do we want and which state they intend to give to us are two different things.

Secondly, we Adivasis have our own traditions. We live in jungles. We have our distinct type of castes, names as well as surnames like Tapo, Kashyap and Ura. Now they tell us to include Ram with our names. If under compulsion we add Ram to our names than what will be its consequences. One cannot help it if they frame such rules to harass the afflicted Adivasis.

Ours demand is for a separate State, they also talk about giving a separate State. But what sort of separate State will it be? I, therefore, urge the centre to be liberal in their approach. In every nook and corner of the country, especially in the areas having forests, the Adivasis are living in large numbers. Everytime the Government tells that it is going to work for the welfare and development of Adivasis but they are being ruined instead...*(Interruptions)*

PROF. RITA VERMA (Dhanbad) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, Shibuji I would take one minute's time...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : No Madam, If you compel me, I shall make you sit here. You are in the penal of Chairman.

*[Translation]*

SHRI SHIBU SOREN : Today, our colleagues from Assam raised their points about Assam. I would like to submit that more than two lakh Adivasis including Santhals and Bodos have become homeless. But

nothing has been done by the Centre in this regard. Where these Adivasis will go as they do not have house to live in. They are victims of a conspiracy. We will have to look into it. We support secular State and are in favour of a united India. We should go for a secular State.

With these words, I conclude and oppose the motion of confidence.

*[English]*

SHRI ALEMAO CHURCHIL (Mormugao) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise on behalf of my party, United Goa Democratic Party to oppose the Motion of Confidence and to make first ever Konkani speech in this august House after my mother tongue is included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. Mr. Speaker, Sir.

*[Translation]*

*SHRI ALEMAO CHURCHIL : This time both the Lok Sabha seats in Goa have gone to regional parties. My Party UGDP has won in South Goa, while Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party has won in the North. Our Goan people.

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Churchil, since you did not give notice earlier, we could not arrange translation. If you want that your speech should be understood by the House, please speak in English today. Next time, you give a notice in advance and you can speak in Konkani.

MR. ALEMAO CHURCHIL : Mr. Speaker, Sir, when I was given the Identity Card, at that time I had given the notice.

MR. SPEAKER : That was for oath taking and not for speaking on the debate in the House.

SHRI ALEMAO CHURCHIL : Mr. Speaker, you must understand my difficulties. *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Okay, you speak.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please do not complicate the matter.

*[Translation]*

SHRI ALEMAO CHURCHIL : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am an MP from Goa. A Representative of the Goans. Goa is a peaceful land. We never mix religion with politics. All stay together. Hindus-Christians-Muslims...like brothers. Goan people have given a mandate for secular forces, so that we can support a good Government. We want to work for the welfare of people. We want to put an end to unemployment. We want to uplift the poor and the OBCs. We have assured Goans of jobs in the KRC. To get all these things done, we want a good Government.

Honourable PM Atal Bihari Vajpayee is not only a gentlemen, but also an able leader. But it is not enough just to have a good leader. The party he leads must be equally acceptable. We cannot say this about the BJP. Some of its policies are very doubtful. People eye them with suspicion. A large section of Goan population comprises the minorities., They are not yet ready to accept BJP policies.

Today, all the secular forces have come together. Therefore, while declaring my unflinching support to this Front, I oppose the motion of confidence tabled by this Government.

MR. SPEAKER : Thank you, Mr. Mahendra Karma, you may speak for just two minutes.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Do you want me to congratulate you for that.

*[Translation]*

SHRI MAHENDRA KARMA (Bustar) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the motion of confidence. Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee was talking about a general consensus to run the Government. The same thing applies on United Front also that you should not seek general consesus to run the Government, instead you should seek it for forming the Government. Otherwise there is a fear of repeating this mistake which was committed by the BJP....

*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

Just listern to me.

*[Translation]*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, every political party has tried to interpret people's mandate in its favour. The fact is that the people of this country have not given their mandate in favour of any party. Therefore, this is the bounden duty of the House as well as the Members to honour the feelings of the people by forming a National Government and secondly, Left Front, Congress, MPVC and Independents are in high spirits for forming a United Front Government. I want to submit that it will be better if all of them join the Government. This House should not become a forum for the exercise of formation and fall of short-term as well as minority Governments. In order to ensure progress and development of the country we need to give a serious thought regarding forming a stable Government. I hope that all of us will think towards formation of a National Government in view of the new and changing scenario.

*[English]*

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI (Autonomous District) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise here to oppose the Motion of Confidence placed by the hon. Prime Minister. During

* English Translation of the Speech originally delivered.

* English Translation of the Speech originally delivered made in Kankani.

the debate and also outside the Parliament, the hon. Prime Minister and many leaders of the BJP have been trying to explain the growth of the BJP from two Members, to become the major Opposition Party and now to become the largest single party and the formation of the Government. They have explained it as growth. But very humbly I want to say to the hon. Prime Minister that all growths are not healthy, some growth are called cancer. So, in the national body politic your growth is a cancerous growth and the nation must get rid of it.

Sir, the BJP has been talking about the backward regions, tribal regions and they have been unequivocally saying that Uttarakhand or Uttaranchal should be created as a separate State for the hill people of Uttar Pradesh. The are also supporting Jharkhand or what they call Vananchal issue. On the Uttaranchal issue, a unanimous Resolution was passed by the Uttar Pradesh Assembly. If we analyse the activities of the Government during the last 13 days, we can see that they have found time to take decision regarding Enron Project. But they did not find it proper to take a decision regarding Uttaranchal. I call upon them to answer this point. They could not find time to pass a Resolution on the Uttarnachal issue on which they had fought the election in Uttar Pradesh and got the mandate in the Uttar Pradesh hills. They owe an answer to the people of the hills of Uttar Pradesh and all the people of the backward regions of this country.

MR SPEAKER : Rongpi, please conclude now.

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI : Sir, usually I do not take much time of the House

MR. SPEAKER : You can take more time, next time.

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI : Sir, I want to touch upon only a few other issues.

Sir, BJP is a communal force. It is an established fact. They are communal; there is no doubt about it. They are fascist; there is no doubt about it.

Whenever they talk of their growth, they always mention Bihar saying that they have improved their performance there. But with the help of what forces? They have progressed with the help of Ranvir Sena. You have taken the help of landlords and the goons...*(Interruptions)*. They have taken the help of feudal elements. So, not only are they communal and fascist but also to increase their seats they have never hesitated to take the help of anti-social and feudal elements like Ranvir Sena... *(Interruptions)*.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to conclude by raising only one more issue, namely, that not only BJP but every other major political force has failed to recongnise — as we have been busy in seeing who will form the Government — that during the last 13 days 1,30,000 people have become homeless. They are staying in refugee comps in Assam and Bengal. More than 137 dead bodies have been found. There are reports that a number of dead bodies are being rotten. They could not be taken out because of lack of communication facilities... *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I have out of the way given you time.

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI : Sir, it is a very important issue. That is why I want to say that during the last 13 days not a single member of the Cabinet - leave alone the Prime Minister and the Home Minister - has cared to visit those areas.

MR. SPEAKER : Those points have been made again and again. Follow the example of Mr. Banatwala for future.

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI : I want to say one more thing. The forces have not reached there.

MR. SPEAKER : This was discussed this morning also. Why are you making all these points? Mr. P.C. Thomas please.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : It is already 3.30 p.m. Please let this Government go.

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI : Even in the President's Address, it was not mentioned.

MR. SPEAKER : Please do not go to President's Address now. We are on Confidence Motion. Please sit down. Do not take advantage of my generosity.

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI : Sir, I oppose this Government and I oppose this Motion of Confidence.

SHRI P.C. THOMAS : Sir, I am sorry, I am constrained to oppose the Motion. I am sorry because a personality like Mr. Vajpayee is one who is admired by all. But I am also sorry that assurances given by the BJP, the call given by the BJP to all the parties saying that they are going to be secular, they are going to safeguard the whole nation, cannot be given much credence in the light of what has happened in the past. I remember in the last Lok Sabha there was a committee consisting of many of the Members from here who visited Ayodhya. We had talked with leaders of the BJP there. The report was given and we all hoped that something very concrete is going to come because an assurance was given that secularism will be safeguarded. The mosque will not be demolished. That was the assurance given to the Committee. Now there is an assurance given by the Supreme Court also that the mosque will not be demolished. But I am sorry now the BJP had to go back from all assurances given in the House to the Supreme Court and to the people. But I am very happy that Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has been always taking a different stand in this or at least a glimmer of hope was given by the speeches of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. But I am constrained to say that at this moment the confidence of the BJP has been completely eroded — the BJP themselves know it — as far as the formation of the

Government is concerned. I am sorry I have to oppose it staunchly at this last moment when I have only half a minute more to speak and I do it as my duty as a citizen of India.

*[Translation]*

SHRI R.L. BHATIA (Amritsar) : Today Shri Barnalaji has grossly misled the House and I want to refute his statement...*(Interruptions)*. The Akalis are responsible for fanning terrorism in Punjab. The terrorism has taken life of 5000 Congressmen...*(Interruptions)* These people went to meet terrorists and they also gave them awards ...*(Interruptions)* I have received there bullets ...*(Interruptions)* They said that Akalis came to the power 6 times but the Congress party did not allow them to rule...*(Interruptions)* When they were in power, they were fighting among themselves and when they were fighting with us. These are the people who gave away rewards to the extremists. ...*(Interruptions)* You can get it verified from the Punjab unit of the BJP... *(Interruptions)* They are the accomplices of the extremists. They ought to be condemned.

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Raghunandan Lal Bhatia, enough is enough.

*[Translation]*

SHRI SUKHBIR SINGH BADAL (Faridkot) : They are the murderers of the Sikhs... *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Raghunandan lal Bhatia, you are a very seasoned Member of the House .

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Prabhu Dayal Katheria, please sit down.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : If any hon. Member misleads the House, you have other course and other recourse to take. You can bring a privilege motion. But it is not the way to just come out and say you have misled the House. You can give proper notice.

*[Translation]*

SHRI SUKHBIR SINGH BADAL : The people of Punjab have rejected them.. *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : That is not the way.

*[Translation]*

Please listen patiently. Please keep patience.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I shall feel highly obliged if the House listens to me with patience after having witnessed so much uproar. I want to express my thanks to all those who have participated in the discussion on my Motion. This House is meant for peaceful, restrained and rational debate. Some friends wanted that there should be no debate on its and the Motion should be put to vote right away so that they could be enthroned immediately after they left the House... *(Interruptions)*

AN HON. MEMBER : It will be like that only.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Someone is saying from other side that it will be like that only. This voice is coming from the Congress benches. Other friends should remain vigilant.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have been in Parliament for the last 40 years. Such occasions have come many times. I have been witness to formation of Governments, change of Governments and installation of new Governments, but democracy... *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Do not make these kinds of remarks, please.

*[Translation]*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : But on every occasion, democracy in India has emerged stronger and I am sure, this occasion will not be an exception.

Mr. Speaker Sir, I have been a critic to the Governments all these 40 years. Today, most of the times, I had to listen to criticism. There is a saying in Marathi :

"Nindkache ghar asave shojari, i.e.

Nindak niyare rakhiye, aangan kuti chhabaye"

You should keep your critic near you, otherwise sycophants will spoil you. If you have a critic, he will keep you spotless without any cost. The hon. friends who...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

SHRI RAM NAIK (Mumbai North) : It seems that mike is working there... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI B.K. GADHVI (Banaskantha) : You are telling that this mike is working and that mike is not working. Kindly listen to him perfectly. Why are you standing up and speaking like this?

*[Translation]*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : He is complaining... *(Interruptions)*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to extend my special thanks to Sarvashri George Fernandes of the Samata Party, Sirpotdarji of the Shiv Sena, Barnalaji of the Akali Dal and Jai Prakash ji of the Haryana Vikas Party who have supported my Motion. Those who have criticised will get reply to their criticism. However, I would especially like to mention Shri Murasoli Maran.

*[English]*

I have a special word of gratitude for my dear friend Shri Murasoli Maran...*(Interruptions)*. Maran, I stand corrected. Despite our differences on certain issues, he was generous enough to set the record straight on the issue of horse trading by stating categorically that we did not use suit-cases to convert our minority into majority. He has in fact demolished the baseless and politically motivated allegation levelled by some members. I am also glad that Thiru Maran has taken note of our resolve to restore the balance of resources in favour of States.

We have always held the opinion that the Centre cannot be strong if the States are weak. Thiru Maran is disturbed over our advocacy of one nation, one people, one culture. I am happy that he shares our perception of one nation. But I must say that he has got it all wrong on our interpretation of one people and one culture. I categorically state here that the BJP does not stand for uniformity. We recognise the celebrated India's multi-religious, multi-lingual and multi-ethnic character. This view is best reflected in a poem by none but one of India's greatest Poets Subramaniam Bharati. That poem is entitled; "E Thaai" i.e., "My Mother". I would like to read it in Tamil. It says :

"Muppadhu kodi magamudaiyal
Vyyir moimburam ondruiyal
Lval cheppoumzhi pad inettudaiyal
Enil Sindhanai ondrudaiyal"

SHRI N.V.N. SOMU : Thank you, Sir, for reading out the poem in Tamil

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : This is not for the first time. I had also read something in Tamil in my Address in the United Nations.

*[Translation]*

Its Hindi translation is like this:

"Tees koti mukhmandal wali hai meri maan,
Ek hai uski kaya aur atma
Bhashayen wah atharah bolti hai,
Kintu ek hai uska chintan".

Mr. Speaker, Sir an allegation has been levelled against me that I have a lust for power and whatever I did during the last 10 days was nothing but lust for power This allegation has hurt me deep in my heart. Just now, I said that I have been in Parliament for 40 Years. The hon Members have seen my behaviour and my conduct I had been in the Government with my friends in the Janata Dal. I have never done anything wrong in pursuit of power Shri Sharad Pawar is sitting here. He was not present in the House when Shri Jaswant Singh was speaking. He said in his speech that Shri Pawar had caused split in his party to form Government with our support. Whether he formed the Government for the sake of power or for the good of Maharashtra is a different thing. But the fact remains that he caused a split in his party and cooperated with us. But I did nothing of this sort. During the course of this debate a remark has been made repeatedly that personally Vajpayee is a good leader but his party is not good.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : That is correct.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Then what do you intend to do for a good Vajpayee?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I won't name anybody. I did not want to name even Sharad ji. If I am offered power with a new alliance at the cost of a split in my party, I would be the last person even to remotely entertain such an idea.

"Na bhito maranadasmi kewalam dusthito yash" Lord Rama has said that 'I do not fear death, if at all I fear, I fear bad name, I fear public odium'. My political career spanning 40 years has been as pen book. But when the electorate voted us as the single largest party, should we have rejected their mandate? When the hon. President invited me to form the Government and told me that the oath of the council of Minister would take place the next day and the majority should be proved by the 31st, should I have run away from shouldering the responsibility? When I initiated the discussion, I had clarified this point also. Isn't it a fact that we have emerged as the single largest party? Now I shall come to the other arguments that are being given in this regard. On being invited to form the Government, should I have asked the Hon. President to give me some time so that I may have consultations in the party?

When the President told me that the oath ceremony will take place the next day and I was given time upto 31st May 96 to prove majority, I offered to make best use of the time being given to me by talking to other parties in a bid to garner their support and try to create an atmosphere conducive to moving ahead on the basis of a common programme. What is objectionable in it? How does it indicate our greed of power? Moreover the decision to form the Government was not just mine, rather it was that of the party.

Mr. Speaker, once the date i.e. 31st of May was fixed for a trial of strength and it could take place only on the floor of the House, We never subscribed to the view that this trial of strength should take place either in Rashtrapati Bhawan or Raj Bhawan - it therefore became necessary to summon the House and once the House is summoned President's Address is a Constitutional obligation. We could have listed some other business too for the sitting, at least we could have moved a Motion of Thanks on the President's Address but neither people on the Opposition benches permitted nor I too insisted on it lest it should create any doubts. We looked for the earliest opportunity for the trial of strength. Hence the Motion of Confidence was brought on 27th May and today is 28 May and the matter will be decided. We could have insisted that since we have

been given time upto 31st May and we will remain in power.... *(Interruptions)* Mr. Speaker, Sir, one should not be hit below the belt or be put under cloud. I never played this game not will ever play such a game in future. Democracy in a system. Now they are making a count of percentage of votes we got. Under the Westminster model of parliamentary system, that our country has adopted, number of votes or the percentage thereof which a party gets is not taken into account, what counts is the number of seats that a party wins. This system cannot serve the twin objective i.e. percentage of votes as well as number of seats. Our country has not adopted the List System of the proportional Representation system. I, for one, have always been pointing out the defects of the Westminster system in which at times it is quite possible that a party getting lesser number of votes on an aggregate may corner disproportionately larger number of seats or the Vice-versa is also possible. In Kerala a coalition Government has come to power with just one percent margin of votes, dislodgin the party in power. The difference in votes was of just one per cent but this difference which we are having presently has to be recognised. And now the total no of votes you are having are being counted but I can make a count of your own percentage of votes which will be only to your disadvantage. They now say that they are uniting. Are they uniting for the explicit purpose of providing a stable and responsible Government in the country? I do not want to repeat, they have not chalked out a programme so far and nor they have approached the electorate with a common programme. The mandate received and the vote percentage obtained about which they are now talking, is for different States and for divergent reasons. In Tamil Nadu it was the Congress that was fighting against DMK and not our party. The same situation obtained in Andhra Pradesh where we were nowhere in the picture. How can they say the mandate is against us when it was the congress that they were fighting against and not us. What sort of a mandate is this? Say explicitly what you are murmuring. Say openly that you will not let us come to power at any cost. It is proper to speak in such a vein. The spirit behind this speech is even more deprecable. A bogey is being created in this House that India is moving toward a Hitler type of dictatorship and fascism is raising its head in the country. This sort of fear is being create. The persons who are debutants in this House and are quite unaware of even the dignity of the House. I am in Parliament for forty years now. We have been working as a party here on democratic lines and have been contesting elections.

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : We too have been in the Assembly for twenty years.

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Please have patience to listen.

*[Translation]*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Mr. Speaker, Sir, they will preach us about dignity.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : The mandate is against the Congress. The strength of the Congress in the House stands reduced to just half of its previous strenth here. The people have given their verdict differently in different States, disregarding which all other parties are now uniting and enlisting Congress support and the latter willing to extend its unqualified support to them. I do not want to reiterate what my friend Mr. George Fernandes said yesterday. The stand taken by the other parties seems to be that irrespective of whatever invectives they might haven hurled at each other but now they should unite and let the BJP not form the Government. If this is your collective decision, then I would not say anything. Nonetheless, such a decision would be negative, reactionary aimed at the sole purpose of stalling us from coming to power and hardly conducive to the health of democracy.

I want to caution them today. On our part, we are ready to sit in the opposition. Mr. Speaker, Sir, when I joined politics I never dreamt of becoming an M.P. I was a journalist. I am not keen on the type of politics being practised today.

**16.00 hrs.**

I do wish to renounce politics. But politics itself refuses to part company with me.

Then I becam the leader of the opposition, today I am the Prime Minister and after some time I shall cease to be so. I was not overjoyed when I became the Prime Minister and nor I shall have any qualms when I demit the office. However, I would like to raise some issues.

Today a number of fresh allegations are being levelled against us that we have not included certain important issues in the President's Address. The President's Address makes no mention of Ram Temple, Article 370 and Uniform Civil Code and so much so that 'Swadeshi' slogan has also been jettisoned. All this is being said in a tonne as if they are very much aggrieved on account of our putting aside these issue whereas these are the people who nave all along been criticising us for these issues. They have been holding us guilty because we intened to construct Ram Temple and wanted abragation of Article 370 of the Constitution and ask us how we can keep the unity of the country intact. Even though it has been written in the constitution and the Supreme Court has also vindicated this viewpoint that there should be a Uniform Civil Code but we cannot say the same? If one says so then one would be branded as subverter of the unity of the contry. I we say that these issues are not the part of our present programme *(interruptions)* and because we do not have the majority.. *(interruptions)*

We are fighting for majority. If the people's mandate is not in your favour they have not fully accepted us

either and with the mandate we have received now, we are not in a position to implement all the Programmers. We wanted majority but we could not get. We have emerged as a single largest party and our endeavour is to evolve a workable system through consensus and that is why we did not touch upon the disputed issues. What objection do you have over it?

Now, United Front is being formed...*(Interruptions)* it is good if it has been formed but its programme is yet to be chalked out...*(Interruptions)* if that has been done, then have they assimilated the philosophy and the programmes of the Marxist party in it, in totality. If they have done so, then why the Marxist Party has been keeping a distance from the Government? When a United Front is formed, a number of parties come together...*(Interruptions)*

When different political parties come together every party has to give up some of its programmes. In 1977 also we were supporting the demand of abrogation of Article 370 of the constitution. Shri Ram Vilas Paswan, who is present here, was with us at that time. In 1977 we were in favour of making Atom bomb also but when we realised that democracy was in danger and there was a need to save it, we kept aside many of our party programmes. Due to the imposition of Emergency, the entire country was turned into a jail. We all decided to work together to stop the authoritarianism. At that time no one asked us as to why were we not pressing for the demand of abrogation of Article 370. In a way it was right. Now, you are forming a United Front so each one of you will have to forgo some of your party programme. The Hon. President has given us time upto 31st because he knew that we were not in majority. But the Hon. President called us to form the Government because we were the single largest party in the House. He gave us time upto 31st May so that we may talk to other political parties and make efforts to form a stable Government. Such things are happening in other countries also. It was being done here.

SHRI BASUSEB ACHARIA : Then why did it not happen?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Because you did not allow it to happen.

*[English]*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Why do you not consider the fact that you are totally isolated in the country?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : We are not isolated

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Yes, you are.

*[Translation]*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : You are saying that no one is with us but if we say that the Akali Dal, which won in the recent elections, is with us...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : It is because he is not pro-BJP, but he is anti-Congress. 'That is why, he is with you... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Then, why can you not be with us?

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Then, are you pro-Congress?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : You may aks your Members to behave. You are here for forty years and I am here for 25 years. I am also entitled for respect...*(Interruptions)* What the hon. Prime Minister is saying all the time is, he thinks, it is our solemn obligation to keep him in power. That is what we have been trying to find out from yesterday. If the majority of the hon. Members are not supporting you, is it the fault of the other Members who are not supporting you? I have got my own perceptions, I have got my own policies and programmes. He is all the time accusing, as if, we are entering into some combination. Does that justify him to remain in power, withou having a majority? Is this what you are trying to say?

*[Translation]*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I have been listening to your criticism since yesterday and now you are not prepared to listen to a little bit of criticism...*(Interruptions)* Is it my fault if the voters have not given a clear majority to any party? We have been given the chance as the single largest party because people wanted for a change. Is it also our fault ?

*[English]*

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : Without having a majority?

MR. SPEAKER : Achariaji, please do not interrupt him.

*[Translation]*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am not talking about West Bengal. I have mentioned about it yersterday. It is a different matter that their number of seats and percentage of votes have decreased this time.

*[English]*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : But it is the only Government which has come back to power with two-third majority. Please do not forget that. It has come back to power for the fifth time. It is a record.

MR. SPEAKER : It is okay, Mr. Somnath. Please let the Prime Minister speak.

*[Translation]*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I fail to understand that...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

KUMARI MAMTA BNERJEE (Calcutta South) : I do not want to interrupt him, because the Prime Minister is speaking. But, I have some reservations about what Shri Somnath Chaterjee has said.

*[Translation]*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Sir, two parties fought the elections against each other and now when they joined hand with each other they are saying that the mandate was against BJP and 82 per cent voters voted in their favour. It is a peculiar logic which is being given here.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK : There is a logic behind it.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : You all have united. It is a good thing.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK : Everything is before you.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : It is not before us ...*(Interrruptions)*

*[English]*

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK : May I ask Shri Vajpayee one question?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : They do not listen to you, Shri Biju. Why are you trying to help them? They do not listen to you.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK : What do you want? You wanted time till the 31st. But what is it that you propose? ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Have some patience. ...*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

We held a large discussion on it. Earlier, you were not in favour of any discussion on this motion. But when a discussion was initiated, the hon Members took keen interest in it and we have had a good discussion in the House. Now the time has come to take a decision on it. Even then you are feeling so perturbed. You are so anxious to come to power so soon.

I remember the day when you split the Janta Party and took Choudhary Charan Singh to South Block and stood in front of his chair... *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK : Let us set the record Straight... *(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

I have burnt three letters in front of Choudhary Charan Singh. It was done by none else than Biju Patnaik. I have not engineered any split in Janta Party...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

How can you say all these?...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Biju Patnaik, please sit down. Let the Prime Minister continue.

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the time which was given to me to mobilise majority support has been properly utilised by me. I have had talks with different political parties. Some parties have come to our support and some other parties expressed their difficulties. Some parties are of the opinion that they will lose some of their votes if they support us. I can understand if any political party is worried about its vote bank but how long and to what extent this game of vote bank will continue? Will they ignore the national interest for the sake of vote bank? When we talk about minority and say that they should get full protection, equal opportunities, equal rights, people level charges against us that we do not practise what we say Such matters can be discussed in the House Our party Government in the States is functioning accordingly and if you give us a chance in the Centre we can show you as to how all these things are implemented. I fail to understand that every political party is talking about the biggest minority community but no one is bothered about the Sikhs who are just two percent of the population. Just now you have listened to the agony of Shri Barnala. Nobody is bothered about them.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I remember those days when Sikhs were being massacred in Delhi riots. One of our BJP workers came to me in the cover of darkness. I could not recognise him because he had cut his hair short and had shaved off his beard. I asked him as to what he had done with his hair and beard and why he had come surreptitiously in the cover of darkness? He told me that he could not come to me in the day light. He could not come out of his house with his long hairs. That was why he had sacrificed his hair. He had come to narrate his tale of woe to me. At that time we advocated the cause of Sikhs. That was why we lost elections at that time and the Congress Party captured the power by exploiting anti-Sikh sentiments of the people. We did not do that ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ILIYAS AZMI (Shahabad) : You a herere by flaring up anti-Muslim feelings of the people... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : This is worng ...*(Interruptions)* But you do not condemn the atrocities committed on Sikhs...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ILIYAS AZMI : We do condemn..

*[English]*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Please look at the records... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : We have raised this issue a number of times... *(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please sit down.

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI ILIYAS AZMI (SHAHABAD) : We have condemned the atrocities committed on Sikhs a number of times.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : All the culprits have not been arrested... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : Who was responsible for putting Sikhs behind the bars under TADA... *(Interruptions)* I got them released from the Jail ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MUKHTAR ANIS (Sitapur) : The BJP men looted the Sikhs in Lucknow in the guise of Congressmen... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI ILIYAS AZMI : I myself witnessed dozens of such persons belonging to the BJP and Congress Party who were together in looting the sikhs...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : It will be better for my friend Shri Mulayam Singhji not to utter anything in this regard. During his tenure as Chief Minister of UP the women who were coming to Delhi for a rally in support of their demand for Uttranchal were raped and this fact has been substantiated even by the court. And after that Shri Mulayam Singh ji has no face to say anthing... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : It is a matter of shame...*(Interruptions)* Some girls were disrobed in Kanpur. All these persons are sitting here ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI MUKHTAR ANIS : Mr. Prime Minister, why do not you talk about the incident occured in Surat where BJP men disrobed the Muslim women?... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI ILIYAS AZMI : It is Congress rule *(Interruptions)* Those women were disrobed in Congress regime ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, all these friends have been speaking for the last two days ...*(Interruptions)* Now I have got a chance to speak ...*(Interruptions)* They want to shut my mouth but this will not happen. If they try to do so on the strength of numbers we will be forced to take this war of ideologies to the streets... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : We are ready to face it irrespective of the areas or the fields you like to take it... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to stress on the point which I mentioned in the beginning. There should not be polarization in the country, neither on the communal line nor on the caste line. The politics should also not be divided into two camps which sans dialogue and discussion. Today, country is in crisis. Whenever needed, we helped the Government to tide over the situation. Being the Leader of the Opposition, I was deputed by the then Prime Minister, Shri Narasimha Rao to represent India in Geneva. Members of the Pakistani delegation were taken aback on my inclusion in the Indian delegation. In that country the leader of Opposition is only interested in pulling down the Government. This has not been our tradition and moreover it is quite contray to our nature. I wish this tradition to continue. The Governments will come and go but the nation will always remain there. The democracy of this country will live foreve. Has it not become a difficult task in the present atmosphere? This discussion will conclude today but the chapter which is going to start from tomorrow requires some deliberation. The bitterness should not be allowed to grow. I do not know the basis on which the United Front selected Shri Deve Gowda as its leader because he was not the first choice of the United Front. He was their fourth choice. Now he is going to become their first choice for the Prime Ministership... *(Interruptions)*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I regret that during the discussion the names of such organisations were mentioned here which are independent and are engaged in the task of nation and character building. I am referring to RSS. One can have differences with the ideologies of RSS but the kind of allegation levelled against RSS were not warranted. Even the Members of Congress and other parties respect and admire the constructive work being done by the RSS and they also lend their cooperation for the same. If they go and work among the poor and work for spread of education in tribal areas they should be felicitated for their endeavour. All sort of cooperation should be extended to them... *(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Who was Nathu Ram Godse?...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Shri Deve Gowda whom you are going to elect you leader of United Front is well acquainted with the merits of RSS and moreover he himself has praised RSS for its activities ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK : If it is so then Vajpayee ji, you should support him...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Will you please sit down Mr. Patnaik?

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please Address the Chair.

*[Translation]*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I would like to submit to the members of my party... *(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : No, it is enough.

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Why are you getting provoked by them. Let them speak what they want. The final hour has arrived Do not get provoked.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir. Sir, My friends should know that I have also come here after getting elected. They should also know that being the leader of the largest party I have been appointed as Prime Minister by the President of India. It is at the directive of the President that I have come to seek the vote of confidence of the House.

Now, if discussion takes places and a senior leader like Biju Patnaik, interrupt me...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Patnaik, you do not have to react to everything that is said. You are one of the seniormost leaders in the country.

*[Translation]*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, I was saying that those who are patriots, rational in this country and those who wish welfare of the country from the core of their heart and have come in contact with RSS, know that this organisation is dedicated to the country for its well being and just now...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : And who was Nathu Ram Godse? What did he do in the interest of the country?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I will cite a recent instance. I am not mentioning that after the Chineese aggression, the voluntary organisations which were invited to participate in the Republic Day parade for showing solidarity with Pandit Nehru, RSS was one among them. Communists were not there. Where were they at that time ...*(Interruptions)*. Even during the time of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, who was also a popular Prime Minister of the country, when we had a war with Pakistan, educated people were needed to control the traffic in Delhi and it was again RSS volunteers who offered their services to control the traffic...*(Interruptions)*. Recently a function was organised in Bangalore to commemorate the struggle against the emergency, which was called the second struggle for freedom. Shri Deve Gowda was also present there. I have with me the excerpts of his speech, which he made on the occasion, I am quoting it.

*[English]*

RSS is a spotless organisation. In my first years...*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : He is not here. Shri Deve Gowda is not here to contradict it ...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : Sir, I am on a piont of order. In the absence of any person in the House...

MR. SPEAKER : Why do not you take out the Rule Book and read from it?

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : I am raising a point of order under rule 376... *(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

MINISTER OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ) : You may change your leader tonight. *(Interruptions)* You cannot listen to even the praise of your leaders ...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Justice Lodha. I have given time to him. I will come to you.

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : I just want to draw your attention that any Member in the House has every right to quote any document provided.. *(Interruptions)*. Just a moment, let me finish. But without any document, without authentication and without your prior permission and too if a person is absent, nothing should be made public about him because he has no right to reply in this House, Sir...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Under what rule?

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : He is quoting one document.

MR SPEAKER : Under what rule you are raising your point of order?

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : Under rule 115. The Member is misqoting and unnecessarily making allegation against Mr. Deve Gowda and it is of no relevance. It is absolutely false and fabricated. He is trying to malign Mr. Deva Gowda in a manner that he is trying to create confusion among the United Front. That is his intention and the Prime Minister should not ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN : It has appeared in a Southeren newspaper in Bangalore which authenticates the statement of Mr. Deva Gowda when he told about RSS. "Nishkalankam Choritranam" I can give Kannada Prabha and the Indian Express and it is authenticated ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I will allow you one by one ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Ahamed, I will come to you. Have you got your ears?

SHRI E. AHAMED : Yes, I am listening.

MR. SPEAKER : Sit down. I had given him the permission to speak first.

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : I draw your attention to rule 353. No allegation of a defamatory or incriminatory nature shall be made by a member against any person unless the member has given adequate advance notice to the Speaker and also to the Minister concerned so that the Minister may be able to make...*(Interruptions)* not only Ministers but Members also ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : That is, if you want to allege anything against the Minister...*(Interruptions)*. He is reading irrelevant rules...*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

They do not know the rule and are reading the rule book.

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : You read it.

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : I need not read it, I learnt it by heart... I have read it, I have already read it well before you read. I know it by heart. I can tell you each and every word...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : Sir, Rule 352 categorically says :

"A Member while speaking shall not—

(i) refer to any matter of fact on which a judicial decision is pending.

(ii) [make personal reference by way of making an allegation imputing a motive to or questioning the bone fides of any other Member of the House unless it by imperatively necessary for the purpose of the debate being itself a matter in issue or relevant thereto;]...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM NAIK : Sir, under Rule 353 it is very clear, it says:

"No allegation of a defamatory or incriminatory nature shall be made by a Member against any person unless the Member has given a notice..."

*[Translation]*

MR. SPEAKER : Sir, it is neither an allegation nor it is defamatory to the person for whom it has been attributed... *(Interruptions)*. But what they have said about Guru Golwalkarji should be expunged from the record. Golwalkar who is no more in this world whatever has been said about him by a senior member like Shri Indrajit Gupta, who made and subscribed us oath should certainly not form part of the record. But what has been said about Shri Deve Gowda who is going to be their leader tomorrow, there is nothing wrong in it, it is in according with the rules...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

SHRI E. AHAMED : Sir, I would like to refer to Kaul and Shakdhar. On page 817, it is stated that :

> "As a rule, no allegation of a defamatory or incriminatory nature can be made by a Member against any person unless the Member has given previous intimation to the Speaker and taken his permission..."

Sir, on page 818 Kaul and Shakdhar has stated about Rule Committee's observation. It is stated that :

> "While proposing this rule, the Rule Committee observed :

It was against the rules of parliamentary debate and decorum to maake defamatory statements or allegations of incriminatory nature..."*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : No, no, please.

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK : Have you heard anything? To whom Shri Deve Gowda has referred as "spotless character"...*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : RSS

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK : Did he say that BJP was of spotless character?

SHRIMATI SUSHMA SWARAJ : No, no, they are talking about RSS.

SHRI BIJU PATNAIK : You are not. He is not. He is not...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : One at a time please.

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN (Chandigarh) : Sir, I will draw the attention of the House to Rule 349 (ii), which says :

> "Whilst the House is sitting, a Member—
>
> shall not interrupt any Member while speaking by disorderly expression
>
> or noises or in any other disorderly manner;"

The Leader of the House is speaking. Our Prime Minister is quoting from the speeches of the future Prime Minister. Why should they object to that? The rule says that no Member will interrupt the Prime Minister while he is speaking. Sir, I urge you to kindly enforce this rule and ask them not to interrupt and particularly not to prevent the Leader of the House to make his point of view. He is only quoting his statement...

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the issue merely is that RSS may be a reverned institution for them and for R.S.S. ...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : I have listened enough from your side, please do not make noise like this. it is not very fair.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Do you want the House to run? I have already listened to the views of two hon. Members from your side. Let me listen to him. If you want to speak, I will allow you afterwards. Twenty Members cannot stand up and speak like this.

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : The statement attributed to Deve Gowda Ji is wrong. Deve Gowdaji has denied this. As General Secretary of the party, I would like to say that whatever the Prime Minister has stated about Shri Deve Gowda which has appeared in the newspapers, is not correct. R.S.S. is a communal organisation and Shri Deve Gowda has no relation, What-so-ever, with this organisation. R.S.S. may be a reverned institution for them, but, for us, R.S.S. is a communal organisation and R.S.S...*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Order please.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Sir, he had not supported RSS. I can tell you that...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI B.K. GADHAVI : Sir, kindly see rule 352(ii) of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha. The tenor of the speech of the Prime Minister was casting on imputation on Shri Deve Gowda, which is not permitted under this rule. Therefore, Sir, you have to go to the tenor of his speech. Referring to Shri Deve Gowda's statement for RSs amounts to an imputation, which is forbidden.

The rule says:

> "Make personal reference by way of making an allegation imputing a motive..."

Sir, he was imputing a motive to Shri Deve Gowda. Therefore, it cannot go on. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI SURESH KALMADI : Sir, we want voting ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I think it is a very important point which has been raised on the floor of the House. On this particular issue, there had been a lot of debate on the floor of the House. There were a number of occasions. Unless it fulfils the two criteria of allegation and defamatory, normally it is allowed.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : Not against the strangers ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : The question here is that the Prime Minister is quoting from the newspaper.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI BASUDEB ACHARIA : Sir, it has not been authenticated...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Please listen to me. The Prime Minister is quoting a statement from the newspaper attributing statement of a particular individual who is not a Member of this House. The authenticity of that attribution of a particular view is from a person who is not in a position to confirm or deny on the floor of the House. Whether that attribution of a particular statement by a person amounts to a allegation or not, is the question to be decided. I do not like to give a final verdict on that but if the Prime Minister can avoid it at the moment, it will be better

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I am sorry, Sir. Will you allow me?

*[Translation]*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am referring to a function organised in Bangalore. Alongwith other people, Shri Deve Gowda was also present there. That function has been organised as a mark of protest against 'Emergency'. That function was held on 26 June, 1995. Had the statement of Shri Deve Gowda been misquoted, he would have denied it. Had all the newspapers published the wrong statement..*(Interruptions)*.....Mr. Speaker, sir, No body denied this statement If Deve Gowda had felt that his statement was misquoted, then he could have contradicted the statement. But he never did so...*(Interruptions)*...

*[English]*

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : He has already contradicted it the next day. It was in the *Indian Express*. The next day, he contradicted the statement. I stand by that.

DR. MURLI MANOHAR JOSHI : This statement has never been denied. It has never been contradicted. It stands as it is. We have never seen any contradiction We have the statement with us *(Interruptions)*.

MR SPEAKER : Mr. Prime Minister, the hon Member, Mr. Jena is now on record.

*[Translation]*

SHRI BHAGWAN SHANKAR RAWAT (Agra) : When Shri Indrajit Gupta was reading from a book nobody interrupted him...*(Interruptions)*.

*[English]*

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN We have the audio and video cassettes of that programme. What is he

saying/ I am ready to place it before the House. What is he talking? He is misleading the House. I have the audio and video or cassettes...*(Interruptions)*.

*[Translation]*

KUMARI UMA BHARATI (Khajuraho) : Mr. Speaker, Sir upto 30th...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Uma Ji, I understand, Please sitdown.

*[English]*

PROF. RITA VERMA : He has deliberately tried to mislead the House. He is deliberately misleading the House...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. SPEAKER : Umaji, let us conduct the

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Your Minister is speaking.

*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

MR. SPEAKER : Let the Law Minister speak.

*[English]*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : We have already contradicted what the Prime Minister has said... *(Interruptions)*. We have already contradicted it. But if the Prime Minister wants to read, let him read ....*(Interruptions)*.

MR. SPEAKER : All right. If the Prime Minister is willing to authenticate the document, it is all right.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I want to say only one thing. If the Prime Minister wants to read a paper he should be allowed....*(Interruptions)*.

MR. SPEAKER : A Member who quotes a particular sentence....

*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to argue, but...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. SPEAKER : I modify my statement. If an hon. Member who is quoting is willing to authenticate that document, it can be quoted.

THE MINISTER OF LAW, JUSTICE AND COMPANY AFFAIRS (Shri Ram Jethmalani) : May I say something? ...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. SPEAKER : No.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI : Will you kindly hear me for two minutes?

SHRI SURESH KALMADI : We do not want this to go on...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV : Shri Ram Vilas Paswan has already said that he had contradicted it. Even after that if the Prime Minister wants to quote, let him quote.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : May I make it clear that the Prime Minister is reading a document ...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. SPEAKER : Let the Law Minister speak first.

*(Interruptions)*.

*[Translation]*

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES (Nalanda) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the members do bring newspapers in this House and all sorts of issues under the sun are raised here. Some members bring press clippings ...*(Interruptions)*... What sort of drama has been going on, I fail to understand. Mr. Speaker, sir, you yourself have been a member of this House for the last so many years...*(Interruptions)*... the members to bring newspapers and they quote from the newspapers and they want to discuss these issues during the Zero Hour. Is it not a regular feature. Now why such a fuss is being created? No body knows any rule...*(Interruptions)*.

*[English]*

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI : Do not usurp my right to speak...*(Interruptions)*.

MR. SPEAKER : Even yesterday this issue was raised with regard to the speech of Mr. George Fernandes and since it was not defamatory and allegatory, I allowed him. I was only saying whether a particular sentence which was being attributed to a person who is not a Member, would amount to allegation or not.

*(Interruptions)*.

MR. SPEAKER : Please listen. I am not sure about this. Therefore, i allow the Prime Minister to continue.

*(Interruptions)*.

MR. SPEAKER : I have allowed the Prime Minister to quote it. Mr. Prime Minister, you can quote now.

*[Translation]*

SHRI SATYA DEV SINGH (Balrampur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, whatever has been said about Shri Golwalkarji...*(Interruptions)*.

*[English]*

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI : He is reading this document as a matter of right, not as a matter of grace from anybody.

MR. SPEAKER : I have allowed him to quote.

How much time will you take, Mr. Prime Minister?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I am not responsible for these interruptions. I am sorry. I must have my say.

*[Translation]*

I have not come here by anybody's grace, no would I speak with anybody's grace. I did not make any reference to the RSS in the discussion but Comrade Indrajit Gupta did so.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Yes, I did.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : He has also underlined the extent of our relations with RSS. Now what views do people hold about the RSS. If persons of Shri Deve Gowda's stature hold the view then it should be given due importance...*(Interruptions)*. What had happened till date? Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the meantime it was said that it was wrong and at that time I made a submission that it was a function about 1977 held on 26.6.95...*(Interruptions)*.

*[English]*

MR. SPEAKER : Let the Prime Minister speak. You must have confidence in your Prime Minister.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN : Mr. Speaker, Sir, with due respect to you, every time you say your Prime Minister.

MR. SPEAKER : Our Prime Minister

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN : Prime Minister is prime Minister. You should not say your Prime Minister.

MR. SPEAKER : Okay, 'Prime Minister'

*[Translation]*

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, what Shri Deve Gowda said about the RSS is as follows:

*[English]*

> "RSS is a spotless organisation. In my forty years long political life, not even once I criticised RSS."

The Chief Minister said that he was telling this with utmost responsibility. He said that he had no two opinions regarding RSS's active role during Emergency. Shri Gowda further said :

> "People who were with Mrs. Gandhi during Emergency, who praised her, who appreciated Emergency, they are today with us and are enjoying power, but RSS is the only organisation without any black spot. Others have wavered this way or that way.

*[Translation]*

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am not saying all this for the sake of criticising Shri Deve Gowda. He has made a true evaluation of RSS for which I would like to commend him. But these people want that he should not be praised like this in the House. It had been published not in any single newspaper but in all the newspapers and as I had said that time nobody refuted his statement.

**17.00 hrs.**

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to reply to one more point which came up during the course of discussion. It has been said that the BJP did not receive wide support from the people. It was said that we got support from the cow-belt. It is improper to refer this entire as cow-belt in the House. We won in Haryana. We received support from Karnataka. It is correct that we are not that strong in Kerala and Tamil Nadu. But we have our organisation there. We have also received a little less than 10 per cent votes in West Bengal. If you talk of votes, then talkof 10 per cent votes. In this House individual Member constitute a party and he is trying to dislodge us by mobilising people against us. They have every right to do so. Each of them has came alone from his constituency and got united here in Delhi. Why have they got united? Is it for the well being of the country. If so, they are welcome. We are also serving the nation in our own way. Are we not patriots and rendering selfless service to the country for carving a nitche for ourselves in politics. We have been sincerely making efforts for the last 40 years to reach at this position. It is not a sudden mandate. It was not a mircale. We worked hard. We went to people, we have struggled. Ours is a party which functions round the year. Ours is not like the parties which mushroom during the elections. Today we are unnecessarily being put in an embarrassing position just because we could not get a few more seats. We do admit that it is our weakness. We should have got majority. The President gave us an opportunity and we tried to avail it of. It is another matter that we did not succeed. But do not forget that even than we are going to sit in the House as a largest party in the Opposition and they have to run the House with our cooperation. I would like to assure them that we will extend our fullest cooperation to them in conducting the business of the House. But I do not know what type of Government they would form. On what programme it would be formed and how would it be run.

So far as Dalits are concerned out of the total of 77 Scheduled Caste Members. 29 belong to BJP While five members from CPI(M), 1 from CPI 15 from the Congress Party and 7 from Janata Dal belong to Scheduled Castes. We have the maximum number. Similarly, there are as many as 11 Members belonging to Scheduled Tribes in the BJP out of the total of 41 Members. Please don't say that we do not have popular base. We do not have wide support from people. If they think that they can form the Government without us and that Government will last, I do not see any such possibility *(Interruptions)*. First of all, it will be difficult for the Government to come into being. it is hardly possible that it will survive. The question is how for this Government surrounded by internal squabbles is going to benefit the country. For each and everything they have to approach the Congress party. At present I cannot say but earlier there were some talks that the

Congress party has laid down certain condition. Then there was a tale that a Cabinet coordinating Committee will be formed. They can also have coordination on the floor of the House. Without that the business of the House cannot be conducted. It is very good that they want to govern the country. Our good wishes are with them. We shall continue to serve the country. We bow before the numerical strength and we assure you that we will not rest until we achieve the national objective.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am going to submit my resignation to the President...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : In view of the resignation announced by the Prime Minister on the floor of the House, putting the Motion of Confidence to the vote of the House becomes infractuous and also no other listed business of the House for the day can be taken up.

I therefore, adjourn the House *sine die*.

**17.06 hrs.**

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned sine die.*